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FBIS-EEU-92-028 *11 February 1992*

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Federal—TANJUG reports that Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, informed UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali that the Assembly of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" has "unconditionally endorsed the UN peace plan as envisaged by Cyrus Vance." In a letter sent to Ghali, Kostic guaranteed that "local authorities" will "support" UN peacekeeping forces.

Croatia—Dr. Milan Babic, president of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina," called for a referendum on 22-23 February in his concluding speech at the assembly session in Knin, Belgrade TV reports. The referendum will offer the populace the opportunity to support or reject the UN peace plan by asking: "Are you in favor of the Cyrus Vance peace plan being endorsed —Option A: with the reservations of the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina,— Option B: fully and unconditionally."

According to TANJUG, Admiral Sveto Letica, commander of the Croatian navy, stated that the Croatian army will have to "expel by force" the "army of occupation" from Croatian soil if political efforts yeild no results.

Macedonia—Belgrade radio reports that "a large column of military vehicles set off yesterday along the Skopje-Belgrade highway from Macedonia toward Serbia. The column includes 500 vehicles with communications equipment and rocket launchers, as well as trailers and tanks." The radio offers no explanation for the convoy, only that "the escort of the convoy included officers and soldiers in blue uniforms."

Hungary

In an interview with the Belgrade paper VECERNJE NOVOSTI, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky termed arms exports to Croatia "via Hungary" as a "single technical-administrative mistake," TANJUG reports. Jeszenszky noted however that the "influence" of the "mistake" on events in Yugoslavia "is negligible" in light of the total amount of arms supplied. Hungary "now respects" the UN arms embargo on weapons sales to the "warring sides" in Yugoslavia, Jeszenszky stated.

Romania

In a press statement reported by ROMPRES, Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan revealed that only two incidents occured during the 9 February local elections: "Elections were not held in Sapinta" and "some violent actions" were "registered in Slobozia, Dimbovita County, against one of the liberal deputies." Bucharest radio reports that a special investigative commission left for Sapinta village on 10 February to ascertain why elections were not held.

The Central Electoral Office of Brasov issued "unofficial final results" that show the opposition Democratic Convention with 33.83 percent, ahead of the National Salvation Front's 21.30 percent in Brasov, according to ROMPRES. The Bucharest Mayoral Office announced inconclusive results with 41 percent of the polling stations counted: The Democratic Convention leads with 43.3 percent; the National Salvation Front gained 31.08 percent of the votes, according to Bucharest radio.

Czechoslovakia

CSTK reports that a commission of the Czech and Slovak National Councils has agreed on the "future constitutional shape" of the country following week-long talks in Milovy. In doing so the two republics expressed their will "to live in a common state." The agreement states that "either of the two republics—Czech or Slovak—can withdraw from the common state only on the basis of the will of the majority of its citizens expressed in a referendum." Havel termed the results of the talks "significant progress" in the future constitutional makeup of the nation. The draft agreement will be submitted to the two republic parliaments and the Federal Assembly for consideration.

Ganev Does Not Recognize 'Macedonian Nation'

AU1002203992 Sofia BTA in English 2019 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—Bulgaria does not recognize the existence of a Macedonian nation and the presence of a minority connected with the Republic of Macedonia, Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev told a press conference today. In his opinion the Republic of Macedonia's leadership should give clear guarantees that it has no territorial designs on Bulgaria and that it has no intention to raise the question of the existence of a minority in Bulgaria, Greece or other countries.

Today the Chief Mufti Nedim Gendzhev gave a press conference in connection with the letter sent by the Directorate of Religious Faiths with the Council of Ministers to the Supreme Muslim Theological Council declaring his election as Chief Mufti void. According to Nedim Gendzhev the campaign launched against him seeks to divide the Muslims so that they become easier to rule.

Three warships of the German Navy will be on an official visit to Varna on February 12-15, the Embassy of Germany announced. The government approved in principle an Insurance Bill drafted on the basis of the European legislation operative in this sphere and the directives of the European Community.

The cabinet issued a decree amending last year's Decree on the Establishment of Military Police in this country. The Military Police is given the status of a juridical person and the minister of defence should endorse the regulations for its organizational structure and functions.

Today the Bulgarian military delegation led by the chief of the General Staff, Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, who are visiting Brussels were received by Dr. Manfred Woerner, secretary general of NATO. The political situation in the Balkans was in the highlights of the discussion.

Dimitrov Says Price Controls Inevitable

AU1002152292 Sofia BTA in English 1437 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—The executive power belongs to the government and it will exercise it, all the more that it enjoys the support of the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov said at today's press conference. He also said he respects the trade unions' right to express opinions on the cabinet ministers and even raise resignation demands but pointed out that whether and when a minister would be replaced does not depend on them.

The prime minister stressed the necessity of rapidly starting small privatization. Mr. Filip Dimitrov explained the fact that the Council of Ministers had not submitted its own privatization bill by saying there was some misunderstanding between the respective parliamentary committees and those of the government. Now the Council of Ministers is working on a privatization bill which, according to the prime minister, should give the administration a free hand in the quick promotion of privatization ensuring at the same time guarantees against secret privatization, against corruption and speculative capital.

Mr. Dimitrov described the government's decision to keep its control over the prices of the 14 staple goods monitored by it as an antimarket but inevitable measure. The prime minister said that this measure would hold back the promotion of market-based economy and the revival of agriculture but it had to be implemented because of the high social cost of the reform. The government does not intend to freeze wages, the prime minister said answering a question.

The government will soon make out a report on its activity in the first one hundred days and will outline its intentions but it is not going to work out a programme different from the election platform of the Union of Democratic Forces. According to Prime Minister Dimitrov the government is coping well with its tasks and has the situation in hand.

Podkrepa Confederation Begins Congress 8 Feb

Critical of Cabinet's Performance

AU0802165092 Sofia BTA in English 1530 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Ivan Toncheva report]

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—"For three months now the cabinet has not taken actions to carry on the reform," Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, said at the trade union's congress which started here today. At the end of the four-day congress Podkrepa will adopt a resolution expressing its views on the partnership with the cabinet, which "has refused to have a dialogue with the trade unions for quite a long time," according to Dr. Trenchev.

Podkrepa sharply criticized the government some ten days ago when it demanded the resignations of the two economic ministers—Ivan Kostov and Ivan Pushkarov.

"We will be adamant to the cabinet," the confederation's secretary Radoslav Nenov told a news conference this afternoon, expressing his disapproval of the cabinet's ideas for dialogue with the trade union. Dr. Trenchev took a more diplomatic attitude at the press conference, saying that "friends should point out their mistakes to each other."

This is Podkrepa's second regular congress. The trade union was set up three years ago by seven intellectuals. Now it has 700,000 members. The Podkrepa Confederation was among the founders of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), later on it became an observer and finally left the coalition after the October 1991 parliamentary elections won by the SDS. However, Podkrepa still maintains close contacts with it.

783 delegates to the congress will adopt new statutes and a new programme of the trade union. The congress will elect a new leadership and will make structural changes in the organization.

Mr. Stefan Savov, chairman of parliament, spoke at the opening of the congress. According to him, there could be no real conflict between Podkrepa and the SDS, only a conflict between individuals may flare up. "If it turns out that someone cannot or will not implement the SDS programme, they will have to go," Mr. Savov said without naming names. His words were received with an ovation. The delegates also applauded Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, floor leader of the SDS. Both Mr. Savov and Mr. Yordanov said that the ex-communists and those who split from the SDS are closing ranks against it. Both speakers stressed the need for unity of action between the SDS and the Podkrepa trade union.

Mr. Nikolay Vasilev, deputy prime minister and minister of science and education, greeted the congress on behalf of "those cabinet members who respect and love Podkrepa." Mr. Osman Oktay, representing the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms, also spoke about the need for unity.

The congress is attended by representatives of more than twenty international trade union amalgamations. The delegates were greeted by Mr. Enzo Frizo of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, of which Podkrepa is a member, Mr. Marian Krzaklewski, leader of the Polish Solidarity Trade Union, representatives of AFL-CIO, of the European Trade Union Confederation, the CFDT [Democratic Labor Confederation], etc.

Trenchev Announces Resignation

AU1002180092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Correspondent Petur Donchev report on the Podkrepa congress]

[Excerpt] Earlier today I predicted that Article 67, Paragraph Two of Podkrepa statute's concluding regulations, which was proposed in the congress' draft resolution, would become the bone of contention. A paradox emerged. Several texts were proposed. Some of them pointed out that one could become a member of Podkrepa only after signing a declaration before a notary, and so forth. Under those conditions Dr. Trenchev made a statement, which I propose to play in its entirety:

[Begin Trenchev recording] I would like to tell you that you adopted a text according to which the following emerges: If in 1968 a communist dared to denounce the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and subsequently was expelled from the party, he has no place in Podkrepa. Therefore, [noise in the hall], ... yes, precisely this is the text.... Therefore I declare something that you could perhaps deem very dramatic. I did not create an organization with fascist characteristics. From this moment on, I do not wish to be a member of this organization any longer. [end recording]

[Donchev] Afterward, Dr. Trenchev left the hall. Great confusion engulfed the delegates. A recess was announced. I would like to explain that a text is discussed according to which Podkrepa members, who have had responsible or payroll control or nonpayroll functions in the Bulgarian Communist Party/Bulgarian Socialist Party, or their satellite organizations, as well as members of the nomenklatura—payroll and nonpayroll associates of the security organs and those who have participated in the revival process cannot hold responsible posts or positions in the trade union for a period of five years. [passage omitted]

Trenchev Reelected Chairman

AU1002202692 Sofia BTA in English 2014 GMT 10 Feb 92

["After a Dramatic Turn, Podkrepa's Congress Reelects Trenchev as President"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—This evening 37-year-old Konstantin Trenchev, a physician, was unanimously re-elected president of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation which is holding a congress. Podkrepa was set up by Dr. Trenchev three years ago. It was the first nonformal independent trade union in Bulgaria which later became one of the founders of the now ruling Union of Democratic Forces.

While waiting for the election results, the delegates held stormy debates on a clause of the Podkrepa draft constitution concerning the membership of former activists of the Communist Party and its satellite totalitarian organizations in the Podkrepa Labour Confederation. Taken out from the constitution and submitted as a separate resolution of the congress today, the text which the delegates initially adopted barred from membership in Podkrepa all persons who had previously held senior positions in the Communist Party and its satellite organizations, people whose names are on the so-called nomenklatura list, employees of the repressive apparat and participants in the "regeneration process" (the coercive change of ethnic Turks' names).

"It is not a fascist organization that I founded and I am leaving Podkrepa now that such a resolution has been adopted," Dr. Trenchev said when the results were announced and walked out of the congress hall.

After this dramatic turn it was decided to revoke the resolution adopting a revised variant temporarily restricting the election to senior positions in the Podkrepa Labour Confederation of former senior leaders in the Bulgarian Communist Party/Socialist Party, full-time personnel of its satellite organizations, the so-called active fighters against fascism, full-time and part-time agents of the repressive apparat and the participants in the "regeneration process."

Czech-Slovak Commission Agrees on Constitution

LD1002205592 Prague CSTK in English 1405 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Excerpts] Prague Feb 10 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel regards the result of talks of a joint commission of the Czech and Slovak parliaments on Czechoslovakia's future setup as "significant progress" though, he thinks, any jubilation would be premature, Havel's spokesman Michael Zantovsky told reporters today. The commission completed a draft agreement on Czechoslovakia's future constitutional shape after week-long talks at Milovy, south Moravia, on Sunday.

"What is important is that prevailing consensus on the wording of the agreement is maintained and that it is endorsed as soon as possible by the republic parliaments", Zantovsky said. [passage omitted]

Zantovsky said Havel cancelled his schedule this week because of a bout of flu but he is resolved to testify before the senate of a higher military court on Friday, which is hearing witnesses in the case of three former interior ministry officials. The three are charged with abuse of powers as public officials.

Common State Arrangement Adopted

LD1002200292 Prague CSTK in English 1931 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Prague Feb 10 (CSTK)—Either of Czechoslovakia's two republics—Czech or Slovak—can withdraw from the common state only on the basis of the will of the majority of its citizens expressed in a referendum, says a draft agreement on the country's future arrangement presented to CSTK today.

The text of the agreement is the result of talks of the ad hoc commission of the Czech and Slovak parliaments, which ended at Milovy, South Moravia, February 9. The draft is to be discussed by the two parliaments' bodies and the federal parliament.

"We, the people of the Czech Republic, and we, the people of the Slovak Republic", says the agreement, "recognise each other's sovereignty as well as the fundamental rights of national minorities living in Czechoslovakia. We express our will to live in a common state", the agreement says.

Under the agreement, items which fall within the powers of the federation include foreign policies, defence, monetary, credit, interest and currency policies and budgetary regulations. The agreement determines that Czechs and Slovaks will be equally represented in the Czechoslovak supreme bodies.

"A constitution to be adopted by the legislative body of the common state is the basic legislation of the common state", says the agreement. It points out that a federal constitution is to be based on this agreement and will come into effect after approval by the Czech and Slovak republics' legislative bodies.

Industry Spokesman Denies Tank Sales to Israel

LD1002185892 Prague CSTK in English 1215 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Bratislava Feb 10 (CSTK)—A spokesman for the tank manufacturing plant in Martin, central Slovakia, today called last week's reports of the German DPA and ADN agencies on alleged sales of 350 Czechoslovak tanks to Israel a "canard". The spokesman, Lubomir Valent, told CSTK the report "does not concern the Martin heavy engineering plant as it has not negotiated exports".

Valent confirmed that the last export of T-72 tanks, being completed at Martin, is the delivery of 250 tanks to Syria. Valent said the plant is gradually passing over to civilian production though it has been heavily affected by arms industry conversion to civilian production. Arms production constituted up to 67 per cent of the plant's overall output in 1988, he added.

Under a project for producing Lombardini engines, the Martin plant last year produced 100 engines, this year it expects to turn out 2,200 and plans to produce up to 60,000 engines including components by 1995, Valent said.

The reports on alleged exports of Czechoslovak tanks to Israel were rejected on Friday by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay.

Spokesman Notes Arms Trade Control Problems

AU1002151492 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Feb 92 p 3

["R" report: "Arms Are a Political Issue"]

[Text] A decision was made last spring to export 250 tanks to Syria with the proviso that this would be an exclusive transaction. The money obtained from this transaction was supposed to be used in the conversion process. More than half the tanks have reached their final destination. The remainder are being conveyed on ships (the German ship Godewind and the Danish ship Nadia J) that have run aground (as, indeed, happened in the case of the second ship) on the doubts and complications that have long been besetting our arms exports.

"The 'tanks affair' is a classic example of how not to conduct trade," said Foreign Ministry Spokesman Egon Lansky yesterday. On the other hand, trade in such goods is a normal and, moreover, lucrative business. However, according to the Czernin Palace, several conditions necessary for this are lacking in our country. Among other things, contracts are dealt with by an interdepartmental commission, which is a consultative and supervisory organ of the federal government. It comprises the State Defense Council secretary, officials from the office of the government, and representatives from federal and national ministries. The commission, which has the same authority as any other supervisory

organ, discusses all transactions designated for crisis or sensitive regions. The volume of these transactions exceeds 50 million korunas. According to Foreign Ministry staff, the commission is mostly "presented with a fait accompli." The Foreign Ministry has a right of veto, but foreign policy does not to date play too significant a role in this process. The final verdict is very often influenced by domestic political factors.

Moreover, the commission mostly considers contracts that have already been prepared. "Experienced cadres" from the past still participate in preparing them. They determine the priorities, they are responsible for the production programs, and they implement them. Omnipol is an important element on the Czech side, while Unimpex is important on the Slovak side. According to information obtained by LIDOVE NOVINY, they were established merely as a front for the activity of the powerful arms plants.

The main problem, as Deputy Foreign Minister M. Palous told us, is the nonexistence of suitable legislation and the fact that the Foreign Trade Ministry department responsible for overseeing trade in military materiel is also a licensing and supervisory organ. The situation is further complicated by the fact that dozens of small private companies, which have been given licenses to trade in arms, are operating in our country today. For example, according to LIDOVE NOVINY sources, the Meridian enterprise was established at the time when Germany was beginning to have problems in supplying these goods to crisis regions. "Arms are, more than anything else, a political issue," said Egon Lansky. He added that there is nothing bad in trading in them. Of course, this must take place within the firm framework of institutional and legal measures.

Minister Dlouhy Rejects Criticism of Arms Trade

LD1102015392 Prague CSTK in English 2015 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Martin, Central Slovakia, Feb 10 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of Economics Vladimir Dlouhy today rejected international criticism over Czechoslovak trade in arms. "Arms are goods in which all sorts (of countries) are trading, including those which are criticising us the most," Dlouhy told journalists here at the conclusion of a working visit to central Slovakia.

Twenty-eight Czechoslovak-made tanks left the country in January for Syria. A Danish-registered ship carrying twelve of them was held in Denmark until a local court ruled on Saturday that the shipment was not in violation of Danish laws. Sixteen more tanks aboard a German ship were earlier seized by the German Navy in the Mediterranean.

"As there are other countries (trading in arms) we needn't fear trade in them which is carried out in a sensible and regulated way", Dlouhy said. He said it was necessary only to designate clearly the conditions outlining trade in arms for Czechoslovak exporters as well as arms shipments' final destination. "We cannot allow that just any private (arms manufacturer) could go as far as to offer tanks to other countries. This could be done, however, by organisations which are under government control, have a licence, and comply with the relevant laws", he said.

Dlouhy said that the conversion of weapons factories to peaceful purposes is closely tied to the problems in marketability which alternative products could face. Also complicating conversion, he said, are problems connected with structural changes in the Czechosovak economy, privatisation, and the quality of alternative products.

Spokesman: German Treaty Wording Not To Change

LD1102125892 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 0800 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] The wording of the Czechoslovak-German Treaty will not be changed in any way. This has been confirmed once again by Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Egon Lansky. He was reacting to a report which stated that representatives of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] and CSU [Christian Social Union] are expected to hold talks in Bonn today under the chairmanship of Chancellor Helmut Kohl on a unilateral resolution to add the demands of the Sudeten Germans to the treaty. According to this demand, the CSU expects that the Czechoslovak Government, quote, does not reject possible future negotiations on issues concerning the property of Sudeten Germans.

Pithart Undergoes Mouth Surgery

LD1102113892 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 0300 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart began sick leave yesterday after surgery to resection the gum [resekce dasni]. He will be on sick leave for about a week.

Dlouhy, Kalvoda To Head ODA Election Lists

AU1002114592 Prague CSTK in English 1225 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Prague Feb 7 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy and vice-chairman of the Czech parliament Jan Kalvoda will be the election leaders of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), ODA Chairman Pavel Bratinka told journalists today. Dlouhy will head the party's slate of candidates to fill federal offices, and Kalvoda will be at the top of the ODA candidate list in elections to the Czech parliament. Elections throughout Czechoslovakia will be held in June. Bratinka said the ODA has initiated a draft law in the federal parliament for the establishment of a document centre which would gather statements, testimonies, and other materials documenting what had occurred during the forty-one years of communist rule.

Carnogursky Discusses Future of KDH

AU0702172192 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 4 Feb 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Jan Benko; place and date not given: "Let Us Not Lose Patience"]

[Excerpt] Jan Carnogursky is the Slovak prime minister and the chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. That is, it is not important whether he is more of a statesman or a representative of the movement at any particular time, since one function cannot be separated from the other. The main thing is his attitude toward state and political matters. On the first Saturday in February, the Slovak prime minister visited Liptov.

During his short, but busy visit, he was able to make time for an interview and answer questions that are at the center of the public's attention. The greatest number of questions were asked at a meeting with secretaries of the Christian Democratic Movement District Coordinating Center.

[Benko] Many of us believe that the KDH program is not as nationally oriented as other opposition parties' and movements' programs. Is that not precisely the reason why the KDH is losing important "points"?

[Carnogursky] Yes, it is true that voters prefer national programs, but we cannot say that the KDH program is "nonnational." We simply do not stress it so much. We have even curbed the KDH's radical national orientation. We may, or may not reach agreement on constitutional matters with the Czech side. If we do not reach agreement, the state setup will be decided in a referendum. The KDH is in favor of Slovakia's sovereignty, but not sovereignty declared by the Slovak National Council. The world would not accept us automatically as an independent state.

[Benko] Under what conditions would foreign countries accept us?

[Carnogursky] The political situation changed in Europe last year. The European Community's view, and that of the world powers, too, on the independence of nations is different now. Of course, a referendum would carry real weight. The United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Great Britain might simply ignore a self-declared independent Slovakia. They do not influence our state setup, they do not pressure us in any way. It is our business. They would also be willing to accept a confederation if this confederation is established in a democratic way.

[Benko] What is your opinion regarding the KDH position in the Slovak political spectrum?

[Carnogursky] The KDH position has changed considerably in the last two years. We have a program in which we do not promise anything that we cannot deliver. The Public Against Violence movement had an election program that was less national than ours. What have they implemented from their program? The Slovak National Party does not have as wide a base as it expected. The For a Democratic Slovakia Movement is playing the confederative card and wooing voters. The whole of society does not listen only to these two parties. The KDH has good contacts with Christian Democratic parties abroad. They give our party high credit and support. The KDH has something to say to large strata of society. The KDH is able to define basic principles and to institutionally anchor Slovakia's international position. In its program and activity, it implements Christian principles. This is why it may become a nationwide Christian party and satisfy large segments of the population. All this can gradually happen. This is why we should not lose patience! [passage omitted]

Jeszenszky: Arms Exports to Croatia 'Mistake'

LD0702223692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1214 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky called the export of arms into the Yugoslav breakaway Repulic of Croatia via Hungary as a "single technical-administrative mistake." In an interview carried by Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI yesterday and today, Jeszenszky said that the influence of the "mistake" on the events in Yugoslavia is "negligible...in view of the quantity of the delivered arms."

The Yugoslav federal organs have evidence that in autumn 1990, at the time of the preparations for Croatia's secession, at least 20,000 kalashnikovs were imported into Croatia via Hungary, but it is believed that the shipment was much bigger.

Jeszenszky also said that Hungary now "respects the U.N. decision on an embargo" on the sale of arms to the warring sides in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Government, however, early this year informed the United Nations that Hungary, together with Germany, Austria and "some other countries," is violating the U.N. embargo by "indirectly or directly" supplying the breakaway republics with weapons and military equipment. The Yugoslav Government came out with concrete data, for example that the Budapest firm Universum SD this autumn exported into Croatia from Poland, via Hungary, 200 RPG-7 anti-tank rocket launchers with 2,500 rounds, 2,000 kalashnikovs, 2,000 hand grenades and 600,000 rounds of ammunition.

Jeszenszky told VECERNJE NOVOSTI that Hungary "has no territorial pretensions towards its southern neighbour," but added that the population of Yugoslavia's Vojvodina Province "has the right to decide whether it wants to remain within Serbia." Vojvodina has 350,000 ethnic Hungarians, who make up 17 percent of the province's population.

Jeszenszky considers "completely natural" the fact that Hungarians in Yugoslavia have their own schools, newspapers, radio and television programs, are represented in state and other bodies, and have the right to political organization and activities. The Hungarian foreign minister said that "there are no obstacles for [word indistinct] Hungary to be elected as delegates in the political and representative organs in the areas where they constitute a majority."

He set out that "in the Hungarian parliament one deputy represents 70,000 people," but failed to say whether there are any Serbs in this body and that Hungary has only 5,000 Serbs. Yugoslav data from 1910 set the number of Serbs in Hungary to 26,000. They were in the meantime assimilated or the information about them was simply lost.

Goncz Wants Gabcikovo Dam Issue Depoliticized

LD1002162492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] People in Slovakia consider that the debate which has developed about the Gabcikovo water barrage serves only to make Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations more complicated and creates an undesired tension in Central Europe. The Bratislava paper NARODNA OBRODA, citing government circles, warns that Budapest's approach will not bring the desired rapprochement, but will bring to the surface new grievances which will make it more difficult to join in European cooperation. According to the article, the Slovak Government will not accept a unilateral abrogation of the agreement, and trusts that the EC will support the completion of the Gabcikovo power plant.

In an interview he gave to the Bratislava paper UJ SZO, Arpad Goncz said that for a solution to be found it is essential that the issue of the water barrage not be regarded as a political matter, still less as a national one. The president of the republic stated that only a professional approach can guarantee an acceptable solution to both countries.

Assembly To Discuss Terminating CSFR Dam Accord

LD1002190292 Budapest MTI in English 1836 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Budapest, February 10 (MTI)—Terminating the 1977 agreement with Czechoslovakia on construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydro-electric dam will be discussed by Hungarian parliamentary committees on Tuesday. There is evidence current Czechoslovak work will rechannel the Danube River and alter the border, a step harming Hungary's sovereignty and territorial integrity, Minister Ferenc Madl said. The government is urging parliament to take a position after the committee session, Madl said today. Hungary suspended the construction due to an ecological emergency, in line with international law. Thus Czechoslovakia has no grounds to change the course of the river, the minister said.

Jeszenszky on Improving Hungarian-Romanian Ties

LD1002170592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky arrived home from Barcelona yesterday. During his visit to Spain, he signed a basic treaty between the two countries and opened a Hungarian consulate general in Barcelona. In the capital of Catalonia he also happened to meet with the Romanian foreign minister. He spoke about it to the "Lunchtime Chronicle" program.

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] I raised some specific questions with him, including Hungarian worries about the local authority elections, the army's role, voting, and disqualification of the Magyar candidate for mayor of

Marosvasarhely. He gave a partial answer to these questions there and then, and I now have a telephone message in front of me, in which he, the Romanian foreign minister, gives answers to the questions I have raised.

Now I do not wish to give details of the answers, and it would probably not be appropriate either. In any case, I highly appreciate his gesture in sending me immediately answers to the matters I raised, which are cause for concern not only to me but also to Hungarian public opinion, and even more so to the Magyars in Romania.

I have held several occasional talks of this kind with the Romanian foreign minister, taking advantage of different international talks. I would probably say that this conversation was the most relaxed. This can be attributed to the fact that whereas, unfortunately, the Romanian public—or not so much public opinion as certain political circles, also some papers and unfortunately the legislature as well—launched an extremely sharp campaign not only against political personalities and the press of Hungary but against Magyars in Romania as well, particularly around the second half, or end, of last year. This seems to have come to an end.

I do not wish to examine the reason for this—that is, what sort of steps Romania is taking to ensure its international acceptance. I merely take note, with great pleasure, of the fact that, at least in official circles, there is a clearly visible endeavor to improve Hungarian relations, that they lay great stress on the signing of the treaty, and, indeed, that the talks related to this matter in Budapest were quite successful. [end recording]

Bilateral Trade With Germany Detailed

AU1002100792 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 7 Feb 92 p 10

["GBO" report: "Budapest Calculates Strong Growth Spurt"]

[Excerpts] Budapest, 6 February—In 1991 Hungarian exports to the FRG reached DM [Deutsch marks] 4.4 billion. Compared with last year, this corresponds to an increase of 33 percent. The Ministry of International Economic Relations in Budapest and other responsible bodies of the Antall government show a certain satisfaction with the record figure.

The figures are also remarkable because Germany is by far Hungary's biggest supplier. The growth rate of Hungarian exports to Germany, for its part, was about twice as high as the average export increases to the EC. In 1991 imports from Germany amounted to about DM4.5 billion. In 1991, in contrast to most previous years, the bilateral trade balance was almost completely balanced.

In Budapest confidence is expressed about the further prospects also because among the already existing more than 2,000 German-Hungarian joint ventures there are many small and medium-sized companies. As subcontractors, they achieved exports of DM540 million in 1991. Thus, the German-Hungarian joint ventures had approximately a 14-percent share in Hungary's exports to Germany last year. [passage omitted]

The positive trends of Hungarian exports to Germany include the above average share of industrial finished products. However, the share of the five new laender, which amounts to as little as 10 percent, is to be assessed negatively in particular if one takes into consideration that just a few years ago Hungarian foreign trade with the former GDR was almost as large as with the then FRG.

Particularly noteworthy is the rising number of Hungarian companies participating in exports to Germany. While in 1989 exports to Germany were conducted by only 300 companies, in 1990 there were already more than 900 companies, and in 1991 as much as 1,500 Hungarian companies.

Increasing Interest of German Branch Giants

As of 1992 the opportunities in the business area created by Hungary's association with the EC will also help to stimulate a further expansion of German-Hungarian economic relations. This development is to be further promoted by a big Hungarian trade fair, which is planned in Hamburg from 7 to 12 April 1991. [passage omitted]

By the end of January 1992, foreign direct investments in Hungary amounted to $3 billion. Thus, Hungary has a 60-percent share in the total of foreign direct investments in all states in Eastern and Central Europe. The foreign investments of $1.4 billion, which were made in Hungary in 1991, have a 4-percent share in the gross national product, which is remarkable also compared with international standards, Bela Kadar, Hungarian minister of international economic relations, stated.

Thus, in the competition for foreign direct investments in industrial locations, Hungary is now competing with Austria and even with Italy, because many international firms increasingly consider Hungary as a regional bridgehead.

In this connection, it is also noteworthy that Hungary's removal from the list of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (Cocom) is now on the organization's agenda, since the Cocom member states think that the efficiency of the Hungarian Export Control Office is good.

Free Democrats Criticize Divisive Policies

LD0702191992 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] In the current tense social atmosphere and in the serious economic situation, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SzDSz] considers wide-ranging national accord to be necessary. It would like a government policy that

strives for this. The executive body of the largest opposition party points out in a statement that the Hungarian Democratic Forum, which promised to serve national unity, is increasingly making preparations for domination in a manner that divides the country's population. The coalition government, by a series of attacks on the president of the republic, and by the aggressive advance evidenced in the mass media, is shaking the bases of the political agreement creatd for the purpose of unfolding the new Hungarian democracy.

SzDSz reproaches the government majority by stating that it successively rejects the initiatives that would enforce the supervisory role of the six parliamentary parties over executive power. The statement gives examples of the steps by which the largest government party divides society. According to SzDSz, one such example is the campaign pursued under the pretext of church programs, which attempts to place a wedge between believers and nonbelievers, the churches and the public service media. The decision on sick leave turns the employers against the employees, while the separate deals struck with the individual branch trade unions turn the various interest representation groups against one another, the Free Democrats' executive body points out.

Government Discusses Privatization, Nationalities

LD0702192592 Budpaest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Only 21 percent of the 2 trillion forints' worth of state assets will remain permanantly in state ownership. The rest will be privatized by the State Assets Agency at an increased rate from the middle of next year. At its session today the government prepared the legal regulations for this. However, as (Bela Bartfai) deputy state secretary at the Ministry of Justice, said, the government has not decided whether it will ask parliament to discuss the bill with urgency. Only enterprises that guarantee the basic operation of the country will stay in permanent state ownership. The government will define in a decree exactly which enterprises will be handled by the state handling share company on behalf of the state. According to the bill, the leader of this will be a minister. The prime minister intends to appoint the members of the board of directors. The enterprises that do not find either a Hungarian or a foreign owner, and which the state does not want to keep, will temporarily be placed under the management of the State Assets Agency.

The government also discussed the bill on nationalities and ethnic minorities, which is behind schedule. As spokeswoman Judit Juhasz said, the government would like a state role regarding nationalities living in Hungary to be created. It is needed so that the self-governments of minorities and the cultural institutions can preserve their identities. It is expected that a spokesman will represent the intersts of the minorities. This bill will be submitted to parliament shortly by the government.

Speaking of foreign affairs, Balazs Laszlo said that Jozsef Antall received a letter from Boris yeltsin. The letter is an answer to the Hungarian prime minister's suggestion that due respect be given to the Hungarian soldies who died in the Soviet Union during World War II. In his letter, the Russian president received this request with understanding, said the Hungarian Government spokesman.

Kadar 'Optimistic' on Economic Prospects

LD0702181392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Text] Although we are not little tigers yet, as the dynamically developing Far Eastern countries are often called, we are not domestic cats any more, either. We are roughly at the wild cat stage. This is how Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, described the atmosphere that developed around Hungary at the World Economics Forum organized recently in Davos, Switzerland.

The assembly of influential politicians and economic experts greatly appreciated that the transformation of the institutionalized system and privatization are being carried out well in our country. By the end of the year the beginning of economic prosperity could be expected. The figures showing the influx of foreign capital are especially impressive. Altogether $5 billion has come in to the whole of Central and Eastern Europe so far. More than half of this, $3 billion, is in Hungary. Some 10,000 companies were formed, but not only in the commercial sphere, as 60 percent of them deal with production.

The minister also mentioned with pride that Hungarian exports exceeded $10 billion last year. This is a 41 percent increase compared to the convertible export of 1990. Gross exports have decreased, due to the disappearance of ruble exports. The balance is not yet known, as import statistics have not been completed. However, it is remarkable in any case that companies have managed to transfer to the West a significant amount of products, especially to the developed industrial countries. Our largest partner is Germany, with a 27 percent share.

The minister of international economic relations has rather an optimistic view of the prospects for the Hungarian economy. He stated that we are definitely heading toward prosperity.

Skubiszewski Receives Ukraine Politicians

LD1002162192 Warsaw PAP in English 1556 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 10—"The Ukraine has no dealings with Germany behind Poland's back," head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Ukrainian Supreme Council Dmytro Pavlychko said Monday [10 February], discussing Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's visit to Bonn recently.

Pavlychko, deemed number 2 official in the Ukraine, is the most prominent figure of a delegation of Ukrainian parliamentarians who came to Poland February 9 to take part in a symposium on defences organized by the Polish Institute for International Affairs. The symposium started at Jadwisin near Warsaw Monday.

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski received Ukrainian politicians in Warsaw Monday to discuss both bilateral relations, including a Polish-Ukrainian treaty on good-neighbourliness, and domestic developments in the Ukraine and its relations with Russia.

Soviet Army Commander's Comments Not Answered

LD1002155192 Warsaw PAP in English 1514 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 10—Spokesman for the Polish Government's plenipotentiary for the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland, Colonel Stefan Golebiowski said on Monday [10 February] that the Polish side has no intention to comment on numerous controversial statements by commander of the Northern Group of troops of the former Soviet Army, General Viktor Dubynin.

In a recent interview for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Army daily) General Dubynin quoted an Eastern saying: "Even a monkey can pull a dead lion's tail" to illustrate Poland's attitude towards the northern group.

The general also accussed the Polish side of "inhuman" treatment of soldiers of the former Soviet Union, among others, by cutting off water and electricity supplies.

Colonel Golebiowski told newsmen that the Soviet side owes Poland 1 million 974 thousand dollars for last year's deliveries of electricity as well as 25 million 914 thousand Swiss francs for railway services and 3 million 625 thousand dollars for food products.

Walesa Interviewed on Political Developments

AU0702161992 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 2 Feb 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by Witold Beres and Krzysztof Burnetko; place and date not given: "I Do Not See a Black Scenario"]

[Text] [TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Mr. President, are there any situations in which dictatorship is better than democracy?

[Walesa] No, democracy is always better than dictatorship. However, the point is that we sometimes get concepts confused. What I say is this: The purpose of democracy is to give the wisest people and best programs a chance to reach the top without being hindered and then be implemented. Democracy means parliaments, political parties, and conflicts over personalities and programs. On the other hand, when a majority comes out in favor of something, then there to has to be a dictatorship with respect to execution. Many people do not understand what I am saying—I am calling for executive dictatorship. If we decide on something, then we have to go forward without making any changes. That gets confused with dictatorship. So, you try to stress that so that the concepts do not become confused.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] You sense the mood of the public and act accordingly. Today, a majority of people say that it was better under the communists. If it transpired that society did not want reform, would you be able to oppose it, or would you lead a demonstration to the Belweder Palace?

[Walesa] This is another case of confusion. We have not explained to society that the communist system (I actually did explain this on many occasions, but you failed to repeat what I said) was like driving an automobile in reverse. We were moving along at five kilometers an hour. On the other hand, normality involves democracy, pluralism, and freedom—it means moving forward. You cannot be driving both forward and backward at the same time. Every driver knows that that is impossible. We had to stop the system from moving backward. Now these people in the automobile are saying: "Wait, wait a moment, it is getting worse, let's not go any further, or let's stop, that is it, we are not moving."

That is what were dealing with now—we have stopped moving backward in politics, the economy, and in general. So, let's try moving forward. However, moving forward means picking up speed, and it means regulations. Who is to produce the new regulations—the economic, political, legal, and other regulations? We did not explain that to society, and society, which is not playing a greater, more active part in these changes, knows things are worse, but that is the general rule when an entire political and economic system is being changed.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Whether a parliamentary or a presidential system would better is still being discussed at length. You have been talking about strengthening executive authority, but is there not a danger that a weak parliament will not only weaken the executive authority of the government, but will also—through the future constitution—also curb the power of the president.

[Walesa] We are getting our concepts mixed up again. Parliament exists to produce the legal system, but it is

not able to draw up regulations well and in a flash at the same time. That is why during a transition period, in view of all the omissions and obstacles that there are, the government should have an opportunity to act immediately. However, things should be arranged in such a way that if the government acts badly, inappropriately, parliament can make changes. There is no contradiction in this. However, we get things mixed up and confused when we talk about who holds the executive function and has to have powers on the one hand, and about who has to create those powers on the other hand.

That is what prompts all these frantic actions: Unfortunately, we have a bad Stalinist system of laws, and then we also have the law being broken. During a transition period, we need someone to keep a check on the overall situation, because these kinds of laws undermine democracy, which is developing slowly, but correctly. After all, laws cannot be produced in a flash, but should stem from real life and be logical. So, it is better that a minister should make a mistake—even if the law is bad—than the Sejm, which will sometimes vote "for" and sometime "against", will sometimes change something and will sometimes add something.

According to my concept, ministers have to be given special powers so that they can function, despite all the gaps in the law that there are, so that there will be no scandals and affairs. Parliament would calmly regulate the principles according to which the ministers operate and when necessary, make significant improvements.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What about the president?

[Walesa] The president's role in all this is not fully defined, and that is a good thing, because he has to help. He should not be confined within a cut-and-dried role, but should be a catalyst, goad people, provide encouragement and stimulation, and watch over things. It is only once real life has shaped the law, that we will know whether the president is at all necessary, and whether an American-style or German-style presidency is better. However, during the transition period, there should be no final definition of the presidency, and the president should be active, open-minded, and should not feel offended even if something he suggests is boycotted.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Let's turn to the economy. You defended the Balcerowicz reforms throughout. Today, for many people Balcerowicz symbolizes the devil, and your popularity has clearly declined. Was it worth backing that plan?

[Walesa] Wrong again. Balcerowicz is a splendid, great man that we—neither the president, the government or society—have been able to keep up with. Balcerowicz was doing a great job, but took a narrow view of it, that is, kept within the confines of his powers. He concentrated solely on the job. The tragedy for the government and the president is—I have been saying this since the beginning—that we have not been able to create a second Balcerowicz, who would follow in the tracks of the first one, would close bad plants and would see to it that unemployment is treated in an organized, intelligent manner and is oriented toward the future, because there is enough work for generations in Poland. However, there was no second Balcerowicz, and because of that, the first Balcerowicz could not do his job well, and today he has lost out, although that is unjust, wrong, and illogical.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Your efforts to attract Western capital to Poland are well known. However, a significant section of society fears that the West will just buy up Poland. Is there some limit for Western capital?

[Walesa] My ideas were not used. A long time ago, I suggested a different approach to the issue, one that would make us similar to France or England. The point would have been to put things as follows: some branches of industry would belong solely to the state; others could be sold to the West; and others could not be sold because they are Polish and only Polish, and can only be given to Poland. That is how we should deal with the matter, and we should think about how we can give a poor society what must remain Polish. It is because we did not proceed in that direction that we are experiencing delays, sloppy implementation, and scandals.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] "Solidarity" received surprisingly little support in the elections. How did you, the leader of that legendary movement, feel about the defeat that the union suffered?

[Walesa] I felt it was normal. For an abnormal situation, it was something normal. Once again, you did not listen carefully to what I said. Perhaps I put it rather haphazardly or I did not express myself well enough, but what I said was this: If "Solidarity" loses the battle against the old structures, if it does not build anything new, that will mean defeat for it. However, the more "Solidarity" loses against new structures, the more credit it will gain, and it will gain even more credit, the faster that happens.... Now, let's look at whether "Solidarity" really was defeated? The answer is no in the terms that I have been talking about, and the political scene is, albeit not completely, assuming a more structured form. I said that "Solidarity" was a slogan for a struggle, and now its time to roll up the banner bearing that slogan. It should be stated that during that struggle, solidarity was based on the principle that "we are all in this together," and now that it is time to get down to work, we should assume our normal appearance—the person in the overalls, the person carrying a screwdriver, and the person wearing a surplice. Once again, if old Walesa had been listened to, all would be well— we would all have our "Solidarity" roots, but would get down to work in a pluralist shape.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Talking of surplices, the church displayed a clear involvement in the parliamentary elections. Are there limits to the church's influence on Poland's political life?

[Walesa] The church did precisely what I did when at a particular point I realized that there is a solid communist

electorate and that it is only becoming extinct very slowly. It is organized, because it is committed, because it has a burden to bear, and because that is what it is used to. Society was pluralist at that point, and that is a good thing, but it was not so well-organized that it could oppose such a well-organized force. So, I reacted: I made a noise, to some extent I forced myself do that, and I was abusive. The church, on the other hand, behaved wisely: It saw the danger and tired to help oppose what is a quite substantial force and has, despite everything, survived in Poland.

Once again, let's not get our concepts mixed up. It was a necessity stemming from the shocking realization that we have not managed to build a strong political party and that at that particular point, it was a remnant of the old system that was proving to be strongest. That is why I think the church behaved the way it did, and the president did the same thing, but it was a necessary defensive action. The president wanted to frighten society, so that it would understand that that force was still in existence, whereas we had become divided.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] The Sejm will shortly consider an antiabortion bill. It will be the harshest version of such a bill, because it envisages prison sentences for doctors and mothers. It even goes further than what the church has called for. If parliament were to pass such a bill, would you sign it?

[Walesa] I have set out my position on abortion, and I will not change my view, even I were to be defeated in presidential elections ten times running. However, I would point out that I once produced the idea of "a third community of the faithful," that is to say, there are practicing believers, believers who do not practice, and practicing nonbelievers. The latter cause the greatest harm, because while they really are practicing members of the church, they are not believers. Sometimes they are more like the pope than the pope himself.

This is not relevant to this particular matter, but concerns the general phenomenon of exploiting religion in politics, which is dishonest.

The abortion issue has to be settled on various levels, including culture, respect, and ability. It is a great problem that is waiting for a solution, but the solution has to be a general and not partial one.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] During the election campaign you promised many things. You yourself acknowledge that there are many promises that you have not kept. Can a politician make promises that are not kept? Are you not afraid that people will want to take you to task over that?

[Walesa] However, I did at the same time say: "My voters and Poland, you are a funny lot, if you want the president to have a program...." The president cannot have a program, because how will his program tie in with the government's program, with the changing situation in which we find ourselves?

That is what I said, but everyone got offended: "How can you have a president without a program?" I only said that the president determines the general directions for what is to be realized.

In addition, if we are moving away from dictatorship, from totalitarianism, the president has to operate within a certain framework of power. There are three factors involved in the building of a democracy: parliament, the government, and the president, and each has its own set of powers. Until we had free elections, there could have been a lot of confusion in this respect, because the issue was a different one. Now, however, we will have to devote this year and the next few years to introducing some order into the political scene. We will have to determine who is responsible for what.

You should help me in that.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] You said: Take matters into your own hands. At the same time, you say that the old networks are still functioning in the provinces, but people have already decided for themselves who will run local government in free elections. So, who is in charge—some new nomenklatura or the old nomenklatura?

[Walesa] Once again, Rome was not built in a day. Until now, political and executive authority overlapped in our country. In addition, all kinds of "dropouts" found places for themselves in the economy and in local government. Besides, that is still the case today. In the space of a year, it was not possible to put all this right, to create a new apparatus and so on. It is a process.

People are in part right about the present, about here and now, but regarding the situation as a whole, they are not, because it really will take a few years to put the situation right, some people even talk of it taking generations, because the scale of the task is enormous.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What is your attitude toward the postcommunists? Does someone who bears some responsibility for what went on during the Polish People's Republic years and whose sympathies lie with with postcommunists today, but is a specialist at the same time, have a right to hold high office in the state?

[Walesa] If we separate the administrative system from politics, the answer is, of course, yes, but that kind of person also has to account for his actions. The system has to be one that provides genuine results and not be a medium for pursuing a political game. However, one thing has to be borne in mind: There are crimes that are more serious and crimes that are less serious. Even priests went to school in the communist state, so they also lived under communism in some way. Everyone who has lived in this country during the past 50 years has in some way been tarnished by communism to a greater or lesser extent. There were traitors and murderers—and such people have to be held to account. At the same time, it must be remembered that the past 50 years had their own laws, and it was impossible to live without ever coming into contact with communism. You could not

avoid travelling on the communist rail network. However, by rights one should have been indignant and not have made use of anything at all.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What about martial law? Should people be held to account for what happened?

[Walesa] Of course, if we view martial law from a historical angle, then it was the greatest crime to have been committed against Poland. Society was moving forward and was ready to make sacrifices for the revolution. Then people's spirit was broken, many people were left broken, they were humiliated, and many people signed up to join the unions, and today, they are experiencing the psychological harm of that to a greater or lesser extent. It was a great loss for reform in Poland. It was a great crime, greater than any other, to break people's spirit, to destroy the enthusiasm that there was, and to fail to make use of the great revolution that had started in Poland. Of course, at a lower level, it can be viewed differently, but in larger scale terms, the failure to make use of the opportunity that we had then represented a great psychological loss.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Opinion polls show that Poles have less and less confidence in democratic institutions. Whose fault is that? Is it the fault of the politicians (if so, which politicians), the president, or is society simply not mature enough yet?

[Walesa] It is your fault, the fault of the intellectuals most of all. Now is the time for the intellectuals to act, the time to foster patriotism. For example, not the law, but patriotism can be used to fight those who seek out weaknesses in the law and rob our devastated fatherland. So, until the law regulates everything, people's behavior and attitudes have to be influenced. The intellectuals are failing the test today. They want there to be laws, but are not creating an appropriate climate, and that matters even more than regulations.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Are Poland's borders secure? Is our security something that is solely a matter for us, or do we need military alliances?

[Walesa] If we look at things from the 1939 perspective, then the situation is very dangerous—the state is the weakest in our history. However, if we look at things differently, in present-day categories, now that borders do not divide, but unite, then there is no danger.

Today, society is more mature, but weapons are more dangerous. So, no sensible person will be tempted to engage in any kind of conflict.

We have a different philosophy—whoever opens up more, whoever is more appealing and wise, whoever makes proposals and gives encouragement will have more of a chance to play a greater role and will gain more as a result. So, the philosophy is different, the dangers are different, the aspirations are different, and the goals are different.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Do you agree with Minister Kropiwnicki that when the government changes, high-ranking state officials who do not belong to the party in power should also be replaced, even if they are specialists?

[Walesa] We still have not separated political from specialist professional structures. Kropiwnicki has moved a bit too far ahead and says that he cannot have someone at his side who will be doing the opposite. He is right about that. The only thing is that we have not got to that stage yet. However, someone has to make a start. He made a start, he initiated the move, and we now have to define ourselves. We have to begin to put things in order—we have to decide what is meant by a good specialist without any party affiliations and what is meant by an opposing party that is creating obstacles. So, Kropiwnicki has moved a bit too fast with respect to mechanisms that will have to be introduced anyway.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] The Mazowiecki government collapsed as a result of the presidential elections. You did not succeed in defending the Bielecki government. The Olszewski government's position is becoming unstable.... What will happen next?

[Walesa] You consider me and my behavior to be negatively disposed to Olszewski. However, I said at the outset that there are different rules in force because we have a democracy. Even before that, before the elections, I told POLITYKA that what might happen is that no one will want to enter a coalition with the party that wins. I was proved right.

To demonstrate the laws of democracy, I turned to the party that won and proposed a member of that party as the first candidate for prime minister. I was not pursuing some game—I wanted to demonstrate the logic of the facts and what was inevitable.

There was a point when I tried hard to check the formation of an Olszewski government. That was interpreted as bias on my part, but I was concerned about something else—I want to make the government effective by creating a larger base for it. As long as that base did not exist, as long as there was a chance to create a larger base, I made things as difficult as possible.... But I said straightaway that I respect democracy and so on. So, my actions were aimed at strengthening the government and not at creating obstacles for it.

I cannot be considered to be someone who wants to score points. I do not play those sorts of games. That is something that those who are a little lower down the scale can try in order to get me out of office. In my case, I have nothing more to play for, I can only try to win effectiveness, to make the situation in which I find myself evolve in the best possible way. That may look like bias or behaving wrongly, but that is not the case.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] So, you do not see there being a need for a presidential party?

[Walesa] If I do not succeed in achieving what I want, that is, pluralism, and that next time round not just democracy, but also a program should win, if I cannot create that through cooperation with existing parties, if there is only one side and the rest are divided, then I will have to create something that is a counterweight, or even raise Polish democracy to higher level, something that will attempt its own program. That is because if the prime minister and his program fail, and the rest will be divided and unable to act, then I will have to come up with a program of my own and the capability to realize it. I must be prepared for various options. That is my role.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Let's return to history. Do you still believe that the war at the top was a success for Polish democracy? Who really gained from it?

[Walesa] If we were to look solely at Poland, then we could have various opinions and say that the president made a mistake, that he was wrong in this or that respect. However, if we take a look at what has been happening elsewhere, whether in Czechoslovakia or in Hungary.... I knew what was going to happen, so I seized the initiative, because I wanted to get the situation under control; not as much control perhaps, but to create a framework.... What is more, I protected the elites that did not see that there were groups that were seeking to topple them.

The same thing happened everywhere else, these movements behaved in the same way as in our country, the only difference is that we anticipated that, I anticipated that, whereas others had to do so when circumstances forced that upon them....

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Mr. President, Jerzy Turowicz is the boss of the paper that I work for. At that well-known meeting of the Citizens Committee you called him "to the blackboard" in a very brusque manner. Was that right?

[Walesa] No, but at the time I was saying what these people, who have much to their credit, failed to notice. The point was that if we want Poland to evolve properly, then we have to bear in mind that we are dealing with a society in which Lenin triumphed. It is only now that communism has triumphed, that is, those things that Lenin proposed, that the masses have power, rights, and that no one will persecute them and so on. This kind of activity, this triumph for the Leninist path will produce its own heroes, and they have to be drawn into things quickly or else they will push aside those who do not realize what is happening. That is what I was doing when I said to Wujec: Broaden the committee, bring in others, realize what is going on.... However, that was perceived as a powers struggle, as a desire to outmaneuver that particular group.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] But perhaps the approach was wrong?

[Walesa] Of course, you can have many objections to the approach, the tactics, because I take shortcuts, I do not have time, I am not going to get involved in polemical debates. I can only state what I see, I repeat it, and ask for something to be done.... Sometimes I succeed, sometimes I fail.

If I had been listened to then, if the committee had been given a broader form, then agreement would have been possible. However, I was not listened to, they wanted to keep it as a small group of great heroes, and they were not aware of a process that was gaining momentum, a process that has its own heroes and has to sweep aside the old networks. I was protecting that group by telling them the truth, and to a certain extent I protected them from being completely removed, from destruction, because the masses would undoubtedly have removed them.

The war at the top did nevertheless result in a divided setup, but one that includes a few of the "old" people. What would have happened if they had been left out. Perhaps that would be better, but I doubt it....

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What has been Lech Walesa's and Poland's greatest victory and greatest defeat over the past few years?

[Walesa] There have been no great defeats and after all, if I were to bid for victory, that would be after the fashion of a dictatorship.

I was in a position to maintain unity, in a position to do things differently, but what would that have meant? It would just have meant shuffling around posts—the old team would have been replaced by a new one, one that might have been better or worse. Victory means a complete transformation, when democracy triumphed, democracy had to be created. Divisions and splits had to be produced, because we differed. So, in the light of this, there could have been greater, immediate successes, but from a longer- term, historical angle, that would have resulted in failure. I made a bid for power concerning that higher level. Although that means a private defeat for me personally, it is a victory for Poland.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What would be the blackest scenario that you could envisage?

[Walesa] If people were apathetic, if our nerves cannot take the strain, there can be nothing worse than that.

In spite of everything, public awareness and society's familiarity with what is happening is great. That will not destroy us. What is necessary is a steady stream of intelligent people and intelligent programs.

I do not see it ever coming to that blackest scenario . That would only happen if someone were to get involved in public affairs and stir things up a great deal. Society will not destroy itself of its own accord.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What would have to happen for you to step down?

[Walesa] I am ready to step down today, if someone better were to be found. That is what democracy dictates....

I am not saying that I am the best, but if were to have elections now and I were to be standing against, let's say, Kaczynski or someone else, I would show what I have done and would show who has done what. I would explain why I did things one way and not some other way. I am in a position to prove all of that, and today despite everything, I would win more easily than the last time round.

I have done much that went beyond what I could do and beyond the legal framework, but the only thing is that that is not visible. It could not have been visible, I worked a different way, there were other issues involved. Someone might say: "You should have explained these things to society, even just to journalists, that would have made it easier," but that would have been a substitute. You had to get annoyed, you had to jump on me to strengthen pluralism. What is more, that had to happen to encourage people to act. If everything had gone smoothly, then there would only have been talk of that saintly and wonderful Walesa, and the rest would not have been needed.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Mr. President, do you not feel lonely in the midst of all of this? Do you not feel discouraged? Without a presidential party, everyone is against you, journalists do not understand you, and the intellectuals are not doing their job.... Why bother with all of this?

[Walesa] No, but you tell me: Have the things that I proposed failed? I do not feel discouraged, because I score successes nevertheless, and all those things that are blocked eventually rebound on those who blocked them. I am not concerned about holding on to my office, but about Poland's development.

I am a great winner, and I work as hard as I can, because the work is worthwhile, because the work is for Poland. There is nothing else that concerns me. If someone decides to throw a pear at me, that does not bother me. Let him get stronger muscles. However, I know that there are many valid points in all that is being disputed, and I have to make choices, provide assistance, and so on. I make mistakes, and I am not that strong, but I make use of the wisdom of the masses.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Thank you for the interview.

Kaczynski on Possible Center-Right Realignments

AU1002145792 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Feb 92 p 3

[Interview with Jaroslaw Kaczynski, leader of the Center Accord, by Kazimierz Groblewski; place and date not given: "Not at Our Expense"]

[Text] [Groblewski] How is the right end of the political spectrum going to change?

[Kaczynski] I think that two right-wing blocs will emerge in Poland. That is the feeling among the political elites and it does have a point of reference in society. In addition, it would be dangerous if the alternative to the left and the center-left were only a single conservative-Catholic-peasant formation. We would like to consider the process as being something natural, as not being connected with the government. On the other hand, the government should not use its position to create new entities, especially at the expense of those who supported the government.

[Groblewski] How would this division into center-right formations proceed?

[Kaczynski] We are the center-right, and the others are the right, the fairly extreme right. The Center Accord wants to be a moderate, liberal-conservative, center-right party, without the ideology propounded by the Christian National Union, but linked to the church, and a party that will defend the church from attacks by the left. Our center-right bloc would involve the Center Accord without, perhaps a section of it, the "solidarity" Polish Peasant Party, the republicans, the Christian Democratic Party perhaps, and other Christian democrats, and I would not exclude the right section of the Democratic Union at some point in the future. If the Liberal-Democratic Congress becomes a liberal-conservative grouping, a rapprochement would be possible, and a union might even be possible in the more distant future.

The only larger grouping in the second bloc that I can see at the present time is the Christian National Union. In addition, there are politicians connected with the National Citizens Committee and some people from the Center Accord. However, as I know these politicians, I believe that their attitude is based solely on expediency and has nothing to do with their true views. In the past, they distanced themselves from the Christian National Union on many occasions.

[Groblewski] You charge that politicians from the Christian National Union and the citizens committees, as well as some politicians in your own party, are using this consolidation period for the government in order to create their own center-right bloc, which is also known as the Christian-peasant bloc. Why should that be a charge? Does the government not need a political base?

[Kaczynski] I do not think that Prime Minister Olszewski's government could achieve much by basing itself on a Christian National Union-peasant bloc. Such a bloc would only have 12 to 13 percent of the seats in parliament. An attempt to use the government in order to create a platform that is not based on a program but on ideology will draw the government into political infighting. I know from talking to these politicians that some of them consider the government's duration a matter of secondary importance. The creation of a new political force is what matters most to them. They are

people who have not played a key role so far and failed to make use of the chance to create a larger political movement at the beginning of 1990.

[Groblewski] In your opinion, how advanced is the creation of such a bloc?

[Kaczynski] I cannot say. I do not know what is really going on, what is going to happen about the meeting with the primate or whether the church really does want to become directly involved in politics. I have just mentioned a certain plan that certainly does exist, at least in some people's minds. I think that it is unnecessary, harmful, and comes at completely the wrong time. I do not agree with the view of some of Olszewski's advisers, who say that the collapse of the government might be the beginning of a great victory. They maintain that the government will collapse quickly, but before that it will create a program, a new form for the center-right, a leader, and that new elections will then be held quickly and there will be great victory.

[Groblewski] One gets the impression that personal animosities are the main obstacle to cooperation between you and the Christian National Union. Until recently, during the formation of the government, you had no objections regarding the Christian National Union as a grouping that is further to the right. Besides, you are also represented in the government, so cooperation does, at least in theory, exist.

[Kaczynski] Not only in theory, but also in practice. Creating a coalition government is one thing, and a permanent ideological union is another thing.

[Groblewski] Do you feel cheated?

[Kaczynski] I knew that cooperation between the Center Accord and Prime Minister Olszewski would be difficult, although I did not think that it would be as difficult as it is. The government is to a large extent made up of the Christian National Union. It is not as much a feeling of being cheated, as a lack of satisfaction. Our ministers carry the burden of responsibility for economic affairs, but we do not have any influence on political affairs.

[Groblewski] Is the Center Accord on the defensive?

[Kaczynski] As far the government is concerned, we could very easily go on the offensive and in a few weeks there would be no government, but we are not doing that, and we will not do that.

Government-Solidarity Talks Held on Energy Prices

Government Refuses 3 Proposals

LD0702171692 Warsaw PAP in English 1536 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 7—The government negotiators flatly refused to accept the three Solidarity proposals to resolve the issue of the energy price hikes, spokesman for the Solidarity National Commission Andrezej Adamczyk told newsmen after a 2-hour long talks.

It turned out that a 1.5 trillion (some 130 M U.S. dollars) budget deficit gap which triggered the price rise was only a game the government played. The work our experts did to find the alternative solutions of the issue was a waste of time, the spokesman said.

By contrast, general director in the Industry Ministry, Kazimierz Adamczyk argued that the price hikes offset their costs and the opposing sides could only discuss compensating some social groups for the negative effects of the move.

Negotiations Break Down

LD1002170692 Warsaw PAP in English 1631 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 10—Talks between government and Solidarity representatives on the recent hikes of prices for electricity and heating resumed on Monday [10 February] afternoon lasted for only twenty minutes.

The talks were broken after the government said "no" to Solidarity's fourth proposal on how to solve the problem of the price hikes, by halving the increase in prices for central heating and hot water for domestic users.

The Solidarity union will discuss further steps in light of today's developments during tomorrow's meeting of the union's national commission.

Union in 'Radical' Strike Mood

LD1002213192 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 10—The government's delegation rejected Monday [10 February] the "Solidarity" trade union's fourth proposal for settling the problem of the energy price rises. The "Solidarity" delegation left the conference room just after the government's stand was announced.

The latest proposal by "Solidarity" was more compromising than previous ones and assumed that electricity and natural gas prices would be kept at their present level but central heating and hot water prices for individual recipients would be reduced by half.

Andrzej Wieczorek of the "Solidarity" told PAP that negotiations meant reaching a compromise and the negotiating side that manifested a firm negative stand still had a lot to learn.

Wieczorek said that the decision on the possibility of a general strike would be taken by the union's national commission on Tuesday, Feb. 11, but that prevailing moods in the union were radical.

Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Policy Bartlomiej Piotrowski explained that the government's delegation had been analysing all social and economic implications

of the "Solidarity" proposal for the last two days. However, due to a difficult budget situation the already introduced price hikes could not have been reversed by the government, the minister said.

'State of the Country' Report Issued

LD1002235892 Warsaw PAP in English 2222 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 10—"Poland's achievements during 1989-1991 were enormous and evident, but the present deep economic and social crisis puts them in jeopardy," says a government report on the state of the country at the start of 1992 signed Monday [10 February] by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski.

The document, to be submitted to parliament soon, says that the functioning of the supreme bodies of state authority, ie. the Sejm, the president and the government, encounters difficulties owing to imprecise definition of their powers and mutual relations. The efficiency of the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK) and the Central Bank (NBP) is limited by vacancies in top posts in those institutions.

The structure and mode of operation of the state administration are to a large extent rooted in the communist system and ill-adjusted to the requirements of a democratic state founded on the rule of law and a free market, the report goes on.

The present system of law is "inconsistent", and marred by loopholes and incompatibilities, according to the document. This provides a fertile breeding ground for economic offences, including tax fraud and large-scale banking scandals.

All the ministries and areas of life in Poland are in need of thorough reforms which entail legislative action. However, the complex and time-consuming legislative procedures now in force impede the carrying through of such reforms. The crime rate of common offences is alarmingly high, the highest since Poland regained independence in 1918, the report maintains. Organized crime is on the increase. These trends are fostered by liberalization of regulations and inadequate potential of the police and State Protection Office (UOP) in terms of personnel, finance and equipment.

Political, economic, trade and military information of confidential nature leaks out of Poland, the report notes. State borders are inadequately guarded against illegal crossing, especially by citizens of former communist countries.

The report points to the persisting high inflation and a catastrophic decline in production as the characteristic features of the economic situation at the start of 1992. It also emphasizes that the transformation of Poland's economy from a centrally planned one to a market-based one takes place under very unfavourable external conditions, such as the disintegration of the CMEA and the Soviet Union.

In 1991, for the first time in ten years, exports fell, and the surplus in Polish foreign trade shrank radically compared to 1990. The relatively insignificant inflow of foreign capital ($700 million) shows that Poland is not perceived as an attractive country to invest in, the report notes. It also complains that privatisation is slow and brings smaller budget revenues than expected. The number of jobless nearly doubled last year to reach 2.2 million (11 percent) in December.

The budget deficit grew from quarter to quarter in 1991, the report notes, labelling the situation a crash. The main reason was the recession gripping state-owned enterprises which generated smaller tax revenues than expected. The budget was additionally heavily burdened with growing social security and welfare payments and servicing of internal and foreign debt.

The country's economic performance in 1991 did not meet the targets set by the international monetary fund and whose implementation is a condition of Poland's taking advantage of the 50 percent reduction of her foreign debt ($45 billion) provided for by the paris agreement signed in 1991.

Demographic changes work against the economic interests of Poland, the report points out. In 1987 there were 46 old age and disability pensioners for each 100 gainfully employed poles, while at present the proportion is 80 to 100. The number of families relying on poverty benefits on a continuous basis grew threefold last year, reaching 152,000. About 80 percent of families affected by unemployment live below the so- called socially accepted minimum.

One-third of Polish territory is ecologically endangered. The health condition of Poles keeps deteriorating, the average life span keeps shortening, infant mortality rate keeps growing and so does the birth defects rate.

The report states that there is a general opinion among Poles that the political differentiation of the press does not reflect the political likes and dislikes of the nation. Polish radio and television remain a state monopoly, but despite this they seem not to be guided by the sense of responsibility for the state.

The dominating moods in Poland at the turn of 1991 were anxiety and fear of the future, says the government document. Only 20 percent of Poles expected an improvement in 1992, while 76 percent termed the economic situation bad. A majority of Poles said in a survey of public opinion they did not understand the sense of economic changes and had little confidence in state and local authorities. The crisis of confidence in state institutions makes it even more difficult to govern, the report observes.

The report, prepared by the Council of Ministers, consists of nine chapters discussing such areas as the government, the law, internal security, functioning of state administration, the economy, public finances, living conditions, mass media and public moods. In almost all these areas recent months have brought signs of deterioration, the document states in conclusion.

"To meet the challenge of the present moment a mobilization of the whole society is necessary," reads the report. "In the present situation the government can and must take actions which will halt a further deepening of the collapse. Only after the rescue action proves successful the government will be able to proceed to implementing measures aimed at improving the situation," the reports states.

Illegal Radio Station Resumes Broadcasting

LD0602112392 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1510 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Text] The signature tune you have just heard has been used by a new private radio station since last Saturday [1 February] to welcome their Warsaw listeners. Radio Wawa is broadcasting simultaneously in the Polish and in the so-called western band of VHF. According to Communications Minister Marek Rusin, who recently was a guest of the "Aktualnosci" program, Warsaw Radio Z and Radio Solidarity obtained licenses to broadcast their programs in the capital only as an exception. The Catholic Radio from Miedzeszyn can also be heard in Warsaw but it has been broadcasting on the basis of a different agreement. Radio Wawa, run by the well-known personality, Wojciech Reszczynski, already tried their luck last year but after broadcasting for a number of days it was eventually taken off the air. It seems, however, that journalists and the proprietors of Radio Wawa have not given up, and as soon as Minister Rusin went abroad they opened up their radio station again. Here is Director Marian Cislo from the State Radiocommunications Agency:

[Unidentified correspondent] Who officially issued the license for Wojciech Reszczynski's Radio Wawa to resume broadcasting?

[Cislo] So far no one has issued any license for Radio Wawa to resume broadcasting.

[Correspondent] In such a case how will the State Radiocommunications Agency react?

[Cislo] The station will again be closed down, but it is difficult to say how long it will take because unfortunately for us the whole procedure is rather long and difficult.

[Correspondent] What penalty can there possibly be for those who opened this radio station?

[Cislo] The penalty is rather minimal: [such a person] can be brought before the Misdemeanor Court where the penalty will be one million zloties.

[Correspondent] Have you already taken an interest in this matter, because the radio station was reopened at a very convenient time for the broadcasters, that is on Saturday, on Sunday, when the offices are closed, when the State Radiocommunications Agency is also closed?

[Cislo] Yes, I had a phone call today from the District Board of the State Radiocommunications Agency. They were to go there to check certain things, to write a report, and then to make a decision.

[Correspondent] Before, the justification was, among other things, that Radio Wawa could interfere with the performance of certain communications equipment in Warsaw. Does the situation continue to be the same?

[Cislo] Yes, we have had signs of that, and especially from the Polish Committee for Standardization and Measures that this [radio station] has been interfering with their work.

Further on 9 Feb Local Elections; Initial Results

Commission To Investigate Sapinta Poll

AU1002123892 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] A communique from the Government Information Department announces that a special investigation commission left for Sapinta village this morning to clarify the circumstances and the reasons that on 9 February no local elections were held here. The commission is made up of Messrs. Horia Neamtu, state secretary and chief of the Government Control Department; Major General Gheorghe Gambrea, state secretary and chief of the General Police Inspectorate; Trifoi Doru (?Crig), director in the Coordination and Control Directorate within the Local Public Administration Department; and Petre Buneci, government inspector in the same department.

The Local Public Administration Department also specifies that the commission's report will be published within five days.

Stolojan Promises Enquiry Into Actions

AU1002180292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1654 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/2/1992—In a statement to the press on February 10, Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan specified that only two special events occurred during the local polls: Elections were not held in Sapinta and some violent actions registered in Slobozia, Dimbovita County, against one of the liberal deputies.

In connection with those cases, Prime Minister Stolojan specified that special inquires had been started.

During the same statement Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan referred to agricultural works, appreciating that they "are a national security problem." "The land, he said in the context, must be tilled no matter who is its owner. I think there is no greater danger for Romania than the untilling in due time of the land." In connection with that aspect, Mr. Stolojan informed, the government has already taken some resolutions such as: Prefects and farm experts were empowered to take all the necessary measures for the agricultural works so that the land be tilled; the financing of agricultural works through small interest credits was agreed upon together with the banking system and the Ministry of Economy and Finances. "This represents a clear effort of the whole society and a concrete support for agriculture," the Romanian prime minister underscored. The government is determined to take most severe measures against those who will change the destination of the material and financing resources meant for agriculture, the prime minister concluded.

Observers Witness 'Positive' Step

AU1002182992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1452 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/2/1992—Mr. Richard Harley, head of the delegation of the Council of Europe present as observer at the local polls in Romania, had an interview at the Senate headquarters with Mr. Vasile Mois, vice president of that chamber, on Monday, February 10, on which occasion he expressed his belief that the local polls were a positive step of the Romanian people towards democracy. Mr. Harley also said they witnessed the great interest of the population of villages and towns in exercising their political rights in this period of great changes for democracy. Mentioning that there were some discrepancies, especially in connection with the electoral lists which had not been always complete, Mr. Harley underscored that Romania was in a difficult period of transition, but its steps towards a pluralist democratic society were decisive.

Opposition Leading in Brasov

AU1102114692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1108 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/2/1992—Unofficial final results of Sunday's [9 February] local polls were issued by the Central Electoral Office of Brasov.

The following was the option of the electorate for the 31 city councillors : CD [Democratic Convention]—33.83 percent; FSN [National Salvation Front]—21.30 percent, Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR)—10.69 percent; UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania]—8.76 percent; National Liberal Party—young wing—PNL [National Liberal Party]—at 5.43; Ecology Convention—3.89; Romania Mare Party—3.40 percent; PDAR [Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania]—2.48 percent, FSN-Social Democrats—1.82 percent.

A second round of voting for Brasov's mayorship will be contested by Adrian Moruzi for the Democratic Convention who got 43.88 percent of the vote on Sunday and runner-up Ion Gontea for FSN who got 21.57 per cent.

Opposition Leads in Bucharest

AU1102121992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] As our reporter Adrian Fulea, who is accredited to Bucharest Mayoral Office, informs us, at 1015 GMT Mr. Gheorghe Netea, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for Bucharest Municipality, announced the results of 41 percent of the number of polling stations throughout Bucharest.

The results achieved regarding city counselors are as follows: Democratic Convention—133,033 votes, namely 43.3 percent; National Salvation Front—955,497 votes, representing 31.08 percent; Romania Mare Party—22,572 votes, namely 7.35 percent; National Liberal Party (young wing)—11,583 votes, representing 3.77 percent; ecologists—6,716

votes, namely 2.19 percent; Free Exchange Party—4,786 votes, representing 1.56 percent; and Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania—4,201, namely 1.36 percent.

The other parties or political formations achieved less than 1 percent.

At the same time, our reporter informed us that the preliminary results of 41 percent of the number of polling stations for the position of general mayor of Bucharest are as follows: Crin Halaicu [Democratic Convention]—145,529 votes, representing 46.2 percent; Cazimir Ionescu [National Salvation Front]—99,526 votes, namely 31.46 percent; Radu Teodoru—21,996 votes representing 6.96 percent; and Calin Popescu Tariceanu—13,018 votes, namely 4.12 percent.

We want to repeat that these results are for only to 41 percent of the number of polling stations throughout Bucharest.

Transylvania Inconclusive Results

AU1102133692

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1100 GMT on 11 February carries a 4-minute report by radio correspondent Tudor Stanciu from the Central Electoral Commission on the "first official results" of the 9 February local elections in Bistrita Nasaud [Transylvanian region of central Romania].

According to Stanciu, "of the 57 electoral constituencies throughout that county, 37 have to organize new elections for the position of mayor." In the remaining 20 constituencies, he says, "the National Salvation Front [FSN] obtained 10 mayoral positions; the Democratic Convention—3; the National Unity Party of Romania—3; while independent candidates won in four constituencies."

Stanciu continues: "This morning the Central Electoral Commission was asked to clarify certain aspects in connection with the results of local elections. Therefore, I have invited Mr. Paul Mitroi, Supreme Justice Court judge and member of the Central Electoral Commission, to explain." Asked about the second round of polls and the possibility of election propaganda, Judge Mitroi says that "the election campaign, election propaganda is not banned by the law on these elections, except for two days prior to the date of the polls."

Mitroi says that the observers who were accredited for the 9 February elections "may participate" in the second round of polls and "these accreditations are not only valid for national or international observers, but also for journalists."

Mitroi explains that the second round, which will be held in two weeks' time, "will be organized with the same candidates and the same electoral lists." Another type of new elections, he explains, is the one when no mayor has been elected in a given constituency. In such cases, he says, "new elections will be organized and not a second poll because other candidates should be able to announce their candidacy." These elections will take place "60 days" later, so that "the election campaign can be held and that candidacies can be announced."

Stolojan Dismisses TV Vice President Valeriu

AU1002175292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1730 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/2/1992—Romania's Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan gave a resolution according to which Emanuel Valeriu was dismissed from the office of vice president of the Romanian Radio Television and general director of the Romanian Television.

Army Detains Archives of Former Communist Party

AU1002152192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1327 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/2/1992—In connection with allegations carried by Romanian publications about the takeover by the Romanian Army of archives from the headquarters of the former Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, after the revolution of December 1989, the Army's Press Bureau brought the following clarifications: The Ministry of National Defense was empowered by the new authorities to take over the archives for the purpose of protecting them. Beginning with the night of 31 December, the Army authorities took the documents in custody and stored them safely. The Ministry of National Defense considers itself the temporary depository of these archives. Consequently, the Parliament of Romania was duly informed and invited to take charge of the state archives, after they are properly filed and registered, the only way in which they can be adequately investigated.

1991 Industrial Production 60 Percent of 1989

AU0702124392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1201 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/2/1992—The industrial production in Romania totalled 2,713 billion lei in 1991, of which 81.8 percent went to the domestic market and the remainder to export. The industrial production of 1991 was 78 percent of that of 1990 and 59.6 percent of the industrial production of 1989.

The most marked decline of production in 1991 was recorded in December when the performance was 73.5 percent that of June, when the highest level was recorded.

The shortage of primary energy resources—25 million tonnes of fuel less than in 1990—and of electricity was felt in all industrial branches. The poorest performance was recorded in machine-building, electrical engineering, metallurgy, crude processing, chemistry and petrochemistry.

Labour productivity in industry dropped 11.6 percent in 1991 over 1990, while the number of employees dropped 8 percent.

The monthly average pay in 1991 was 7,504 lei, which is 221.7 percent of the 1990 pay, and the inflation rate was 10.3 percent, according to sources of the National Statistical Board.

International

'Deserter' Denies Shooting Down EC Helicopter

LD1002211692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1914 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—Danijel Borovic, the deserter pilot of the Yugoslav Air Force who last week flew his MiG 21 from Bihac [in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina] and defected to Croatia, denies having shot down the helicopter of the European Community monitor mission over the Croatian town of Varazdin on January 7.

Speaking at a press conference in Zagreb today, Borovic said that the helicopter, whose crew of five died in the incident, was shot down by another pilot who Borovic claims was on duty that day.

Borovic was accused of the shooting by his fellow pilots from his unit, who said he defected out of fear from the consequences of his act.

A statement released by the Yugoslav Air Force Command on Borovic's desertion said nothing about his responsibility in the helicopter incident.

Borovic has been in contact with the Croatian defence ministry since last fall and his defection to Croatia from Bihac had been planned for a long time, it was heard at the press conference.

German Weapons Arrival in SFRY, Sources Viewed

92BA0437B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 92 pp 20-22

[Article by Milos Vasic: "Arms Channels: The German Connection"]

[Text] Arms are flowing into Yugoslavia from all sides and to all sides at the same time, frequently from the same source. Germany is one such source; public opinion there is putting more and more questions to the large factories and to the government, which is selling former East German arms. The answers are scant. The best occasion for putting a question happened to be fairly morbid: At the end of August, a German newsman on assignment in Croatia was killed by a German weapon. He was Egon Skotland, correspondent for DIE DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG; while he was driving with a colleague in Glina, someone fired a shot, hit the car, the bullet went through the right headlight, ricocheted off the engine block, passed through Skotland's thigh, and came to rest in the back of the right front seat. Egon Skotland died of hemorrhaging, unaware of the seriousness of the injury; he could have been saved. It was only the Bavarian police that discovered the bullet in a detailed inspection of the vehicle; the caliber of the bullet was 5.45x39 mm, for the AK-74 rifle. It was not difficult for the German newsmen to arrive at the logical conclusion; they compared the available photographs of the Croatian forces and discovered that they were the only ones with the AK-74 rifles, made in East Germany. This opened Pandora's box—a box full of worms in which no one knows heads or tails in the German arms trade. The panic felt at that time (this was September 1991) has persisted even today, and its proportions are at times comical—both in Germany and also here.

The "Armbrust" Mystery

If the Germans had watched television a little more closely in late June, they would have seen German weapons in action even before the death of our colleague Skotland: The Slovene TO [Territorial Defense] members successfully used portable rocket launchers of the "Armbrust" (crossbow) type against the tanks of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. The "Armbrust" is a very interesting system: First, it is very practical for urban combat and unconventional operations, because the missile is launched from it without flame that would threaten the gunner and reveal his position, and second, the sound is negligible. The "Armbrust" is exclusively a commercial weapon, because no army has officially adopted it. The first logical question is this: Where do the hundreds (if not thousands) of "Armbrust" bazookas in Yugoslavia come from?

The "Armbrust" is a product of the large German firm MBB (Messerschmit-Bolkow-Blohm), today Deutsche Aerospace, a well-known manufacturer of airplanes, helicopters, missiles of various kinds, and other modern weapons systems. This portable antitank weapon was developed in the mid-seventies, but it did not become part of the permanent armament of the Bundeswehr, nor of any other army (the reasons have no bearing on this story). The only official German agency which has them—allegedly—is the Bundesgrenzschutz, the border police. In an attempt to discover the source of the "Armbrust" in Yugoslavia, the German TV network WDR (Westdeutscher Rundfunk) of Cologne sent an official letter to the firm MBB on 13 September with four questions: Were "Armbrusts" ever exported to Yugoslavia; Does it know of any third party exporting those weapons to Yugoslavia; Has MBB—perhaps through some licensee—ever received a confirmation on the ultimate user for export of the "Armbrust"; To whom has the "Armbrust" been exported with the general serial number 78-88? The firm Deutsche Aerospace (MBB) answered as best it could, even twice: The first time was the same day, when a certain Mr. H.J. Wieland wrote that the firm had nothing to say, because "since 1981 the production of these systems has been transferred under license to a partner in Singapore." Mr. Wieland said that as far as the firm MBB knows, the "Armbrust" had never been exported to Yugoslavia. Ten days later, however, hemmed in by the evidence, Mr. Wieland answered more specifically: No, he said, MBB had never exported anything to Yugoslavia; it knew nothing about third countries; they never received any confirmations concerning the ultimate user from Singapore; they do not have the number of the 78-88 series. The Singapore licensee, the government corporation CIS (well-known for deliveries of SAR-80 rifles to Slovenia and Croatia a year ago), answered via the embassy in Bonn: "The policy of the Government of Singapore is well-known and is not to comment on arms sales and purchases for very good reason." The method is well-known: Many investigations of the origin of suspicious weapons have broken up against that kind of answer (the investigation of VREME a year ago, for example). Manufacturers under license and traders like

the CIS serve the same purpose: They give the large manufacturer a shelter with their small sovereignty.

Our German colleagues from WDR, however, were not thrown off the track: Knowing that the German law (Kriegswaffenkontrollgesetz; Kriegswafenliste) requires a permit from the Federal Ministry for the Economy (Bundesamt fuer Wirtschaft, BAW) for every arms export, wrote to them. The BAW (Dr. Goworr) replied that the ministry did not issue a permit for such an export transaction. It turned out in the supplemental legal interpretation that manufacturers of German weapons under license (Singapore, and so on) cannot export it to third countries without the ministry's permit, and the ministry had not issued such permits to anyone. This was a nice little scandal of the German military-industrial complex; and soon it was joined by two more nice scandals.

Heckler, Koch, und Co.

At the same time when they were corresponding with the MBB, German journalists also sent a letter to the firm Heckler und Koch of Oberndorf, one of the world's largest rifle manufacturers. The letter states: Have you ever exported anything up to now to Yugoslavia; what, how much, and how? Naturally, just as in the previous case, the German journalists had material evidence of the large presence of these weapons on Yugoslav battlefields. To the general surprise, instead of coolly confirming the generally known fact, the firm Heckler und Koch thought it best to nervously deny what every policeman in all nine police agencies of the former Yugoslavia knows: that the MP-5 automatics (various models) and the G-3 SSG sniper rifles of the firm Heckler und Koch have been official police weapons in our country for 12 years now.

The denial process is illustrative: Mrs. Andrea Franke, spokeswoman for Heckler und Koch, first wrote that the firm had never exported MP-5K automatics (a stubby weapon which is a favorite among gangsters) and the MP-5SD (with silencer, Mr. Kertes' favorite weapon) to Yugoslavia. Then she allowed the possibility that perhaps someone else had exported those weapons, and finally she said of two automatic weapons whose serial numbers she had (1321665 and 1321705) that they were not from H.u.K., but were produced under license. That, of course, means nothing, because the Federal Ministry for the Economy did not issue any permit for export to Yugoslavia to manufacturers of weapons of the Heckler und Koch type under license. Incidentally, the official Yugoslav imports went through a Greek firm Hellenic Arms, and the automatic rifles have the same markings on the safety and the state crest of the SFRY, although there are also some of authentic German origin ("Made in Germany"), which makes the position of Mrs. Franke more difficult. The Federal Ministry said back on 11 September 1991 that automatic rifles are classified as "war weapons" and that under Article 28b they are subject to the special permit—which was never issued, not even for a manufacturer under license. So what was the origin of the automatic weapons and rifles of Heckler and Koch in Yugoslavia?

The question should be sent elsewhere: Not out of spite, because this is an import transaction that is legal from the Yugoslav viewpoint, but to put things in their place—first of all, to the Federal Directorate for Trade in and Reserves of Special-Purpose Products and the commercial firm Univerzal in Belgrade, which is the general representative of Heckler und Koch. Were the arms imported, yes, they were; Why are the Germans denying it, if no one here is denying it and everyone knows everything?

Character and Temptations

The answer to that question is the key to the whole story of the arms trade, which is as old as the human race. There are three reasons for the German nervousness about exposure of export transactions: The first is that the large producers have capacity exceeding the limits of German foreign policy and its restrictions. This has up to now led them into some considerable temptations: The market is immense, so is the capacity, R&D costs also have to be paid off; profit figures here as an imperative, while the political scruples of the German Government are an impediment. The only way out is to attempt to sell as much as possible without getting caught. That was made easier by the fact that we are talking here about the richest German companies and concerns. Foreign experts say that the German military industry is well-known for its secrecy, although the Bundeswehr is very open, as in fact is the German civilian government; they also say that the German military-industrial complex has for decades been living in mortal fear of the public (and the government) because of its illegal transactions. The assessment of these—otherwise serious—specialists is that about a third of the total output of the large German military suppliers finds its way somehow to countries which logically would never be able to buy them. Yugoslavia is one such region.

Unification has brought Germany yet another concern in this area, perhaps still greater than the previous one: the armament of the former East German Army, the immense number of warships, armor, artillery, equipment, ammunition, and rifles like the AK-74. All of this is for sale today in Penemunde to anyone who brings any kind of certificate concerning the end user (a document mandatory in international arms trade), and up to a certain amount even without that. What is more, it is all so inexpensive that it has driven independent arms traders in the world out of their minds. Samuel Cummings, the largest free-lance trader, recently told a specialized newspaper that they had been beggared by the downfall of communism and the selling off of inventories. The T-55 tank, for instance, costs today about $100,000 in excellent condition, it makes more sense, Cummings says, to import a new AK than to clean the old one. The German Government is extremely interested in getting rid of those inventories when on the one hand it does not know what to do with them, and on the other storing them is more expensive than the market price. It is no wonder that the AK-74 rifles have found their way so quickly to Croatia, but neither is it any wonder that the former East German weapons are mentioned so much in the context of last summer's "Bar cargo" of 30,000 tons. Incidentally, the containers in which the weapons were shipped to Bar were

sent last spring to Leningrad, and certain sources say that this was the first installment of a Kadijevic-Yazov agreement dated 13 March 1991. It is well-known that a great deal of former East German weapons were taken off to Russia; it is well-known that a sizable quantity of AK-74 rifles made in East Germany are missing and have still not been found, but the suspicion is—well-founded—that they were taken by certain people in the STASI (GDR State Security), for possible subsequent resale. Resale to whom? The Yugoslav terrain—obviously—is the only game in town.

And as for German exports of weapons to Yugoslavia—whatever might be asserted by the MBB, by Heckler und Koch, by Kraus-Maffei, by Rheinmetall, by Mercedes-Benz (founder and co-owner of Deutsche Aerospace of which MBB is a subsidiary)—the weapons are here, and they are on both sides. Between 1982 and 1990, West Germany exported to Yugoslavia goods which come under the definition of "war weapons" (Kriegswaffen) and "equipment" under the law in the amount of 2,236,378,663 Deutsche marks [DM]. If you do not believe it, this is more than DM2.3 billion. Over the same period, exports of weapons in the amount of only DM581,415 was refused. It is a question, then, of well-developed channels and a grateful market which is not abandoned just like that.

There is evidence that it is a wonderful market not only in the cases we already know of (Kikas, etc.), but also in the most recent scandal in Bavaria. "Fathers of families and businessmen," as they are referred to by SREDNJEBAVARSKI GLASNIK [CENTRAL BAVARIAN HERALD] of Regensburg, H. Rejnhart and N. Zigmund, with the help of certain Sudanese and Palestinians, tried to smuggle into Croatia 3,000 AK-47's, an unspecified amount of surface-to-air missiles from Czechoslovakia and some 1.5 million rounds of ammunition. The confirmation of end user was purchased for $140,000 from Burkina Faso and Equatorial Guinea, and the middleman was in Poland. That is only part of the story: The German police know of similar undertakings: the "Stinger" and "Milan" missiles, quantities of infantry weapons, and so on. Incidentally, Anton Kikas was offered 3,000 AK-47's and 1.5 million rounds of ammunition for them in Frankfurt, but he did not have the money to pay; perhaps this was the same deal....

The German Government and administration—in the general assessment—have been quite correct, as much as they could be. That is, the temptations of the industry are excessively great, and its power is enormous; firms like MBB and the others pay enormous taxes and have very great importance as sources of technological development. At the same time, the government's need to rid itself of the burden of the former East Germany and its army is far greater than has been thought. If we compare those circumstances with the behavior of the Yugoslav partners—Croatia, Slovenia, and the Army—it is clear that no one wants to rock the boat, because they are all drinking from the same spring.

Interrepublic

Slovak Foreign Minister Meets Serbian Ministers

AU1002164192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Radoman Bozovic, president of the Government of Serbia, and Vladislav Jovanovic, minister for foreign affairs, have held separate talks in Belgrade with Slovak Foreign Minister Pavol Demes. Dragan Petrovic has been following the visit by the Slovak foreign minister:

[Begin Petrovic recording] The situation in Yugoslavia and Central and Eastern Europe was discussed in a constructive and friendly atmosphere. There was also discussion about the Helsinki process and the CSCE, particularly in the light of the fact that Czechoslovakia will be the next country to chair the CSCE.

As regards bilateral relations, the revival of economic cooperation between Slovakia and Serbia was discussed. In the context of talks on mutual cooperation, particular attention was paid to national minorities, above all the Slovak minority, which mainly lives in Vojvodina. It was stated in the talks that Slovaks have lived in this area for 250 years. There are 60,000 of them and they represent an integral part of Serbia. It was also said that this is a loyal group of people who, in the words of Minister Demes, have the opportunity to develop their cultural, educational, and other particularities.

The Slovak foreign minister hopes that the Slovak minority in Serbia will continue to be a positive factor of cooperation between Serbia and Slovakia and between Yugoslavia and Slovakia.

The Slovak side pointed out some individual instances of the violation of human rights of members of the Slovak minority which, as Minister Demes stressed, are obviously the result of certain tensions in Yugoslavia. Eliminating these violations would certainly contribute to even better bilateral relations, Minister Demes said.

The Slovak foreign minister will have talks this afternoon with Milivoje Maksic, acting federal secretary for foreign affairs. Demes will tomorrow visit Kovacica and Backi Petrovac, which has the only Slovak grammar school outside Slovakia. He will also visit the Slovak department of the Philosophy Faculty in Novi Sad, the Slovak publishing house, Obzor, and the Slovak cultural center. [end recording]

Macedonian, Bosnian Statements on Army Viewed

AU2701160492 Pristina TVP Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Jan 92

[Commentary by POLITIKA military-political commentator Miroslav Lazanski]

[Text] The week that we have just left behind was marked by two statements coming from two Yugoslav republics that expect international recognition. These statements were made in Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. First, two days ago, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia

accused the Yugoslav People's Army of withdrawing military assets [efektiva], military equipment, and personnel without any previous negotiations and agreements with the republican authorities.

Of course, that same Macedonian Government has forgotten that, for a considerable period of time, the Republic of Macedonia has not been contributing financial resources into the federal fund for financing the Yugoslav People's Army nor has it been sending recruits to serve military service in that same Army. To expect the Yugoslav People's Army to guarantee the security of the Republic of Macedonia in such a situation is completely absurd. The fact that Macedonia's republican leaders do not want to keep this fact in mind is another proof of a certain type of voluntarism in the entire political arena of Yugoslavia.

The second statement, very typically addressed to the Yugoslav People's Army, has come from Sarajevo. Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is not going to repeat the mistake of Slovenia and Croatia and attack the barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army. Of course, we must first ask ourselves why it would attack the barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the first place. However, the situation there is very sensitive and the president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina obviously does not want to keep in mind the fact that large sections of the economy of Bosnia-Hercegovina work for the needs of the Yugoslav military industry and, if the Yugoslav People's Army stopped placing orders with the industry of Bosnia-Hercegovina, its population would virtually come to the brink of starvation. A traffic blockade, which is also possible and which already partially exists for Bosnia-Hercegovina, is also one of the elements which the politicians in Bosnia-Hercegovina would have to be careful about.

Alija Izetbegovic's statement is also interesting because he said that this republic will build a golden bridge for the units of the Yugoslav People's Army to leave Bosnia-Hercegovina. Two questions are immediately posed here: first, what this so-called golden bridge is going to be based upon—the financial resources that Alija Izetbegovic is so unsuccessfully trying to find in Libya and Iran—and where is the Yugoslav People's Army supposed to go from Bosnia-Hercegovina, when it is already well known that the Second Military District, that is, the Second Army which has been formed in Sarajevo is one of the most strongly equipped and best armed military districts of the Yugoslav People's Army. In the case of the civil war escalating, the golden bridge for leaving the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina may in fact for that republic turn into a bloody bridge.

The two statements, one from Sarajevo and another one from Macedonia, only confirm that the leaders of some of our republics—above all, those republics that are now so feverishly expecting their state to be recognized—in fact pay very little attention to the interests of the peoples living there.

Federal

Kostic Tells UN of Krajina Peace Plan Acceptance

LD1002174892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, today informed UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali that the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina has unconditionally endorsed the UN peace plan as envisaged by Cyrus Vance and that it has charged local authorities in Krajina with giving support to UN peacekeeping forces.

Since all obstacles are removed, the SFRY Presidency expects that the UN Security Council will decide to send peacekeeping forces and to start peace operations in Yugoslavia, Branko Kostic says in a letter to Butrus Ghali.

Here is the letter:

Dear Sir,

In our letter dated 3 February 1992, we informed you that the SFRY Presidency has secured the endorsement of the proposed UN plan of peace operations and the deployment of UN forces from representatives of the Serbian people in areas in peril, which will be put under the UN protection under the Article Nine of the plan.

Since afterwards, Milan Babic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, sent a message in which he reiterated the previously known positions regarding the modification of the UN plan for peace operations in Yugoslavia, we wish to inform you that the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina—as the highest body of power—held an emergency session on 9 February in Glina, which was attended by representatives of the federation, the Yugoslav People's Army, and the Republic of Serbia.

The Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina has decided to unconditionally endorse the peace plan made by the personal envoy of the UN Secretary General, Mr. Cyrus Vance, in parts concerning the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

The Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina expressed full support and confidence in the work of the SFRY Presidency, as well as the state committee for cooperation with UN representatives regarding the deployment of peacekeeping forces, and it supports in particular positions expressed in a letter which I sent to you on behalf of the SFRY Presidency on 3 February.

The Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina has also charged all local authorities to give their full support to UN peacekeeping forces in the course of the realization of the peace operation.

Out of the present 87 deputies, 81 voted in favor of the decisions, and no one voted against it, and there were six abstentions. According to the current constitution of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, the decision is valid.

Since all obstacles have been removed, the SFRY Presidency expects that the UN Security Council will decide to send UN peacekeeping forces to and start peace operations in Yugoslavia.

Dear Mr. Secretary General, accept our deepest respect.

Vice President Dr. Branko Kostic

Adzic Says 'Preconditions Set' for UN Force

LD1002152292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Bihac, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—All preconditions for launching a UN peace operation have been met, Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, acting federal secretary for national defense and head of the General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces, said, according to a statement today by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense Information Service.

At a meeting with commanders of the Bihac, Banja Luka, and Knin Corps, and the Fifth Air Force and Anti-Air Defense Corps he made it clear that comprehensive preparations have been carried out in cooperation with the State Committee for UN cooperation and that as far as the army is concerned "the peace operation can start as soon as tomorrow."

The corps commanders, Col. Gens. Spiro Nikovic and Vladimir Vukovic and Maj. Gens. Ratko Mladic and Ljubomir Bajic, briefed Gen. Adzic about the situation in their fields of responsibility and the combat preparedness of the corps under their command, the statement says.

Gen. Adzic also pointed out that there is a real chance now of reaching a political solution to the Yugoslav conflict along the path of peace, regardless of how this path could be long and bumpy. Such a chance is implied in the involvement of the UN peace force in Yugoslavia.

If, "however, attempts are made to outmaneuver the peace operation by force or in any other way the army will be ready to protect the Serbian people at any cost," Gen Adzic stressed in his talks with military officers in Bihac.

Belgrade TV Dismisses Editor, Abolishes Program

AU3001185892 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 92 pp 24-25

[V.T. report: "The Use of Editors]

[Excerpts] By abolishing the [Dnevnik 2] Newscast Addendum, the program that used to maintain fighting spirit and rise patriotic temperature over a few months, Belgrade Television has erased the last traces of the ambitious work of the already replaced and forgotten Mr. Krste Bijelic, until recently chief editor of the Information-Political Program. The change at the helm of the most sensitive sector of the state propaganda was no surprise to experienced analysts who are used to discerning major political shifts in minor changes. In fact, Mr. Bijelic officially "fell" at the moment when Mr. Milan Babic stopped being the most popular Serb on television because it was a common knowledge that the chief editor is "Babic's man" and "the pillar of Krajina interests in the Television of Serbia."

The conflict between Mr. Dobrosav Bjeletic, acting director general of Belgrade Television, and his subordinate was smoldering until the moment when the news was received that the Republic of Krajina proclaimed itself an independent federal unit without consulting Serbia and Mr. Milosevic. Consistently expressing the ruling party's interests, Mr. Bjeletic explicitly demanded of Mr. Bijelic that this piece of news must by no means be given any prominence in the Dnevnik Newscast. The conflict turned into a conflagration when Mr. Krste Bijelic defied this order being of the opinion, as he explained to his colleagues, that this is "in the interest of all Serbs" whom he by no means wants to leave in the lurch. Being convinced that Krajina's patriotic call is above everything else, Mr. Bijelic went even a little further, demonstrating independence and arrogance in doing his "patriotic duty": Local correspondents in Krajina were given the task to widely spread the popularity of this decision of Babic's so that their viewers in Serbia could be "properly informed." [passage omitted]

The disappearance of Mr. Bijelic from chief editor's post resulted in new Television rules being created: The newscast addendum has been abolished (that Television people called "Krste's baby"), the "healthy forces" no longer enjoy prominence as champions of Krajina interests, and the orders of the acting director general are obeyed exactly. [passage omitted]

The disobedient and independent-minded Bjeleic has been replaced by a proven cadre: Dragoljub Milanovic, one of the deputy chief and responsible editors of POLITIKA RKSPRES. Known after his firm party convictions and unwavering tendency toward fulfilling all tasks entrusted upon him, Mr. Milanovic is an illustrative example of a "journalistic fighter for truth." He started his career as POLITIKA EKSPRES' correspondent in Pristina where he followed party life with great enthusiasm and timely reacted to every challenge by Albanian separatists. After Ljiljana Bulatovic moved from Belgrade Television to POLITIKA EKSPRES, Mr. Milanovic managed to find employment for his wife at Belgrade Television (Ljiljana Milanovic, editor of the DNEVNIK 3 Newscast) and that is his only known connection with television. Milanovic called attention to himself by consistently advocating the interests of the League of Communists of Serbia, which paid back his love by appointing him to the post of the executive secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia (in charge of the press). Unfortunately, the party fell apart shortly after that, so Mr. Milanovic had no opportunity to show his talents as political commissar.

Belgrade TV News Editor Submits Resignation

LD1002181492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—The editor of the Belgrade TV news program, Milorad Jovanovic, and 22 journalists of the Belgrade TV current affairs desk have

protested today over the commentary read as "the editorial commentary" by Mila Stula on the third TV channel on Saturday, 8 February.

The journalists say in the statement that "in her well-known style, Mila Stula tells the future, threatens, and discloses plots in which all those not close to the authorities are branded as traitors." "As before, Ms. Stula is not saying where she got this information, which could have been obtained only from the secret documents of the secret services," the Belgrade TV journalists say.

Since the commentary, which calls everyone not toeing the line "devils"—as Ms. Stula used to do before the last elections and up to the March 9 events—was announced as "the editorial commentary," the journalists are pointing out that "the editorial board of the news and current affairs program did not know anything about it." The signatories to the statement also stress that they are not behind this move of the new acting chief and responsible editor, Dragoljub Milanovic, "which directly violates the legal obligation of Belgrade Radio and TV to pursue a non-partisan editorial policy."

Editor Jovanovic states that Stula's commentary about whether the opposition is preparing for a civil war in Serbia and with whose help, "did not go through the usual procedure, and so, even the daily collegium knew nothing about it." Neither the domestic affairs editor, nor the editor of the daily programs, and nor "me as the one directly in charge of the news bulletins" knew about it, Jovanovic stresses, noting that he disagrees largely with the commentary.

"Since the chief and responsible editor cited his legal right to order a commentary to be broadcast, I am also using the legal right to distance myself from its content," Jovanovic underlines. He has asked the collegium to relieve him from the duty of editing news bulletins.

Kommunist Publishing Organizations Disbanded

LD0702142292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Summary] Belgrade, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—It has been announced in the latest Official Gazette of the SFRY that a Belgrade court has concluded the procedure for ending the Belgrade-based Komunist news and publishing organization.

Croatia

Krajina's Paspalj Calls UN Plan Decision Valid

LD1002133492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Glina, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—Yesterday's decision of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina to accept the UN peace plan is legal and legitimate. This was stressed at today's news conference by Krajina Assembly President Milan Paspalj. "There is no need to attend the Assembly session called by Milan Babic for today in Knin," Paspalj said, explaining that the Krajina parliament has already adopted valid decisions.

"The political and security situation in the Krajina region, as well as a third of the Assembly deputies, demanded an Assembly session to be held urgently. So, in line with the Constitution of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, I convened a session for 9 February in Glina," Paspalj stressed. Out of 112 deputies, 87 deputies from all municipalities in Krajina, including three deputies from Knin, attended yesterday's session, so the session had the quorum. The Krajina Constitution stipulates two-thirds majority for decisions to be valid, and more than two-thirds—81 deputies—endorsed Cyrus Vance's plan, Paspalj said.

"Any further manipulation on the part of the Krajina Government could bring about grave consequences and human casualties on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina," Paspalj warned. "A new Assembly session will follow shortly when I, in my capacity as the Assembly president, judge it necessary or at the initiative of one-third of all deputies, as envisaged by the Constitution," Paspalj said.

Paspalj noted that the Assembly session called by Babic was not convened by the Assembly president but by the government. "That is a private parliament of a group of people who see themselves as the government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina," Paspalj explained, and concluded that any further opposition to the UN peace plan would be against interests of not just the Serbs in Krajina, but the entire Serbian nation.

Hadzic Supports Decisions of 'Krajina Assembly'

AU1002161892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Prvoslav Vukovic report]

[Text] I want the people to decide for themselves whether they want the Blue Helmets and for the people's representatives, that is to say, deputies to take a stand on this issues, and that is exactly what was concluded at yesterday' session of the Assembly in Glina.

This was stated for Belgrade Radio by Goran Hadzic, president of the Government of the Serbian Region Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem. I do not know whether, according to the Krajina Constitution, the Assembly sessions can or must be convened by anyone other than the president. The experience that we had with the post-war Yugoslav constitutions teaches us that it is possible to write a constitution and have people accept it without actually knowing what they are deciding about and how. Only Tito knew how to write a constitution that would suit his wishes to be an absolute ruler. I hope that we have finished with this, Goran Hadzic added and expressed belief that the government, its president, and the Krajina Assembly will find a common language. This practically means it is impossible for a nation to have two assemblies.

When asked by your correspondent to assess the decisions passed by the Assembly in Glina yesterday, Goran Hadzic said that they match the political reality, that the people are in favor of peace and cannot await the arrival of Blue Helmets. We should not consider the minor, individual, and

local interests, Hadzic added. The decisions of the other assembly, which has been called in Knin for today, will be identical if the deputies have been correctly informed.

At the end of the talks Goran Hadzic, president of the Government of the Serbian Region Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, said that the people of this region are in favor of the deployment of the Blue Helmets, because the Serbian interests as a whole should be kept in mind. We do not favor divisions, and we hope that the current problems in Knin will be surmounted, as the Serbian interests are above all else, Goran Hadzic concluded.

The interview with Goran Hadzic will be broadcast on the "Argument More" program.

'Krajina Assembly' Session Begins in Knin

AU1002151992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Dragan Dimitrijevic report from Knin]

[Text] The first emergency session of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina has begun without the attendance of Assembly President Mile Paspalj and both vice presidents, so it is being chaired by the Assembly deputy, Lazar Macura. The session is being attended by Dr. Milan Babic, president of the Republic, and members of the government.

The agenda, which is now being discussed, includes the report by the Government on the talks that were held in Belgrade in the SFRY Presidency and its views of the UN peace initiative.

Let us say that the media has demonstrated exceptional interest in today's Assembly session, which is shown by the large number of domestic and foreign journalists and television cameramen and photographers.

We will report in more detail about this event in our later programs.

Babic Calls For Referendum on UN Plan

AU1002200592 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] As we said at the beginning of our program, a session of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which has been called at the initiative of the government of this Republic, is under way in Knin. The session is not being attended by the deputies of 10 communes. As is well known, the Krajina Assembly held a session in Glina yesterday at the initiative of the Assembly President Mile Paspalj and, with the prescribed majority of all present deputies, endorsed the Cyrus Vance peace plan. Let us listen to our correspondent from Knin:

[Begin Branislav Bukva recording] After a three-hour delay, the delay being unavoidable due to the problems some deputies from Kordun and Banija encountered on their way, a session of the Krajina Assembly was held in Knin today. The session lasted exactly three hours.

Dr. Milan Babic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, in his concluding speech, as a last speaker, on the basis of the Constitution of the Republic of Krajina, called a referendum for 22 and 23 February.

As Dr. Babic said, in this way the nation will say what it wants at the referendum, and all organs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina will then have to act accordingly.

The question that will be asked at the referendum was also presented. It reads as follows: Are you in favor of the Cyrus Vance peace plan being endorsed —option A: with the reservations of the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina,—option B: fully and unconditionally.

Before this statement, the deputies of the Krajina Assembly unanimously decided in favor of the Cyrus Vance plan with the well-known reservations contained in the three points. In the debate that preceded this decision, all deputies present were unanimous that Krajina people are for peace, but not for peace that will make these people an ethnic minority.

Today's session of the Krajina Assembly was also attended by numerous domestic and international reporters. President Babic was answering their questions after the session. [end recording]

Tomac: UN 'Pressuring' Croatia To Accept Plan

LD1002183892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1744 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, February 10 (TANJUG)—Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Zdravko Tomac has accused United Nations Secretary-General Butrus Butrus Ghali of "derogating the international recognition of Croatia" in his report on the U.N. peace plan for Yugoslavia.

Butrus Ghali's report is pressuring Croatia to accept the existing authorities on the territory of Serb Krajina: Tomac said in an interview published by the Zagreb weekly DANAS in its latest edition.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed towards the end of last year on Serb-populated territories in Croatia after the Croatian authorities decided to secede from Yugoslavia and proclaimed Serbs in Croatia a minority. The Croatian authorities have no control over the republic of Serb Krajina, which covers one- third of Croatia's administrative territory.

"Our most important objective, above all others, is to liberate the entire Croatian territory and we accept the U.N. peace plan only on condition that this objective is secured," said Tomac, adding that Croatia would use arms to achieve this if necessary. After being criticized by German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman last Thursday informed U.S. ambassador to the U.N. that he "fully and unconditionally" accepted the U.N. peace plan.

Tomac said that Croatia would take steps to show to the world that Butrus Ghali's report was "detrimental both to Croatia and to the preservation of peace on these terrctories," adding that the Croatian authorities would insist that the peace plan be "put back into the agreed framework."

Tomac explained that this concerned the establishing of norms of the Croatian constitutional and legal system on the republic's entire territory and the setting up of new local authorities and police in Krajina.

The U.N. secretary-general specified in his report that the deployment of Blue Helmets inside the territory of the republic of Serb Krajina would not change the status quo in local authorities and the maintaining of law and order, which means that areas protected by the U.N. would not be subject to laws and institutions of the Republic of Croatia until a political solution has been found to the Yugoslav crisis.

Butrus Ghali's report points out that the deployment of U.N. troops would not anticipate the outcome of the political process, stressing that the plan's chief objective is to stop the fighting and create conditions for political negotiations.

Meanwhile, speaking a press conference today, commander of the Croatian Navy Admiral Stevo Letica, who deserted from the Yugoslav People's Army last year, threatened that Croatian paramilitary forces would launch a new offensive.

Tudjman: Vance Plan 'Defeat' for Serbia

LD1102104792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0855 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Feb (TANJUG)—At a session chaired by President Franjo Tudjman, the Supreme State Council of the Republic of Croatia assessed that Vance's plan largely meets Croatia's demands and that "its implementation is tantamount to a defeat for the policy of the Serbian army, which is seeking ways to explain its retreat from Croatia."

A statement issued today says Croatia's demands are met by the plan because it stipulates that "the Yugoslav Army is to withdraw fully from the occupied territories, that Serbian paramilitary units are to disarm and withdraw from the same territories, and that the United Nations will take responsibility for the repatriation of displaced people to the occupied territories and for the normalization of relations and life in these areas of Croatia."

The resumption of the Brussels peace conference, which will remain in session until the final legal and financial partition of the former Yugoslavia, is directly related to the deployment of the peacekeeping forces. So, the UN peace plan should be viewed as a process of gradual normalization of life in crisis areas and a gradual introduction of regular institutions of the civilian authorities on the territory of the entire Republic of Croatia," the statement stresses.

The statement concludes that the Supreme State Council "has unanimously supported the proposal to recognize Macedonia as an independent state."

Mesic Predicts War in Bosnia in Two Months

LD1002140992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina has always been the strategic target of Greater Serbian imperialism, even to a greater extent than Croatia has, Stipe Mesic, chairman of the Executive Council of the Croatian Democratic Community, said in an interview with VECERNJI LIST today.

"War is in sight in this republic, and it will start within the next two months," Mesic claims, while hoping that the world will not allow this to happen.

As far as the Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina are concerned, "they will never join a truncated Yugoslavia, that is, a Greater Serbia. This is why it is in their interest—just as it is in the interests of the Muslims—to heed the referendum and vote for an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Croatian people are demanding only additional guarantees that they will remain a constituent element of that state and that they will retain their geographical location," Mesic said.

"If war breaks out (in Bosnia-Hercegovina), it is clear that it will reflect on the situation in Croatia because of its proximity to Croatian territory as well as of the fact that Croatia will never leave the Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina to their own devices," Mesic stressed.

Talking about the peace force, Mesic said that "Croatia is still insisting that international forces should come to Croatia, not to 'protect' Serbs from our attacks, since we have never threatened them, but to facilitate the establishment of a law-governed state across entire Croatian territory."

If the international community's plans to end the war in Croatia prove not to be feasible, if the world fails to find a way of bringing the aggressors to their senses, this will have to be done by the Croatian army, which is already prepared and able to carry out such an action, Mesic asserted.

Threat to Expel 'Occupation' Army by Force

LD1002160292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—If political efforts yield no results soon, the Croatian army will have to expel by force the army of occupation from Croatian territory, the commander of the Croatian Navy, Admiral Sveto Letica, told a news conference today. He also warned that "units of the Croatian army cannot stay on their positions for much longer in this absurd situation of 'no war, no peace.'"

Macedonia

Convoy of Army Vehicles Leaves Macedonia

AU1102084492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] A large column of military vehicles set off yesterday along the Skopje-Belgrade highway from Macedonia toward Serbia. The column includes 500 vehicles with communications equipment and rocket launchers, as well as trailers and tanks. The escort of the convoy included officers and soldiers in blue uniforms.

Serbia

Serbian Renewal Supports Babic, Serbian State

AU1002173692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Radovan Pantovic report]

[Text] The Serbian National Renewal [SNO] party plans to organize new meetings to support Milan Babic and the Government of the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAO] of Krajina. A gathering for a Serbian federation and free Serbian Krajina has already been scheduled in Novi Sad in three days. It was announced that a similar gathering will be held in Kragujevac next week.

The head of SNO Mirko Jovic pointed out that the party, with its series of gatherings, wishes to warn the Serbian public about two dangers, that is to say, deceits. One of them, according to Jovic, is a forceful establishment of the Yugoslav sovereignty on the Serbian territories and the preservation of Tito's Yugoslavia, and the other, which has been advocated by some opposition parties, is the extension of Serbia to the Danube and Drina Rivers.

Contrary to this, the SNO believes that the time has come to establish a sovereign Serbian state on the Serbian ethnic territories. The party will continue to gather all forces that are in favor of this political option. Therefore, the head of the SNO said, if the pressure on the Government of Serbian Krajina continues, we will chase the illegitimate SFRY Presidency out of Belgrade. To support this statement, he announced that a meeting will be organized outside the Palace of the Federation demanding that the SFRY Presidency and the government submit their resignations.

It was also said at the news conference that the SNO volunteers are stationed on the Serbian territories in Croatia, that they support the SAO Krajina Government, and that the formation of the Serbian army in Krajina is expected to take place soon.

The demand, that the borders with Albania and Bulgaria be closed and cooperation with those two countries broken, was repeated.

Nis Citizens Demand Milosevic's Resignation

LD1002160192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Nis, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—Today in the local branch of the Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka—DS], citizens of Nis have started to sign a proclamation of the DS main board demanding the resignation of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and calling for elections for a constitutive assembly which would determine the future state system in Serbia. Dragan Domazet, DS regional board chairman for Nis, urged at a news conference that new leaders, who will have the mandate of their electorate to prepare a new constitution, take the Serbian people into a new state. The top legal documents of the future state cannot be drafted by some working groups, governments, or deputies of the current parliament, but only by people's representatives elected for a new constitutive assembly, Domazet said. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Leader Views Serbian Rule, Future

AU1002153192 Vienna PROFIL in German 10 Feb 92 p 43

[Interview with Bujar Bukoshi, "president of the Republic of Kosovo," by Ernst Schmiederer; place and date not given: "Rage Is Spreading"]

[Text] [Schmiederer] You, as the prime minister of the secret government of Kosovo, live in exile in Slovenia. Why are you not in Pristina?

[Bukoshi] The Serbian authorities there would arrest me immediately. Since other members of our government are in the same situation, we are forced to live outside the Republic of Kosovo. Those government members whose names are kept secret continue to work in Kosovo.

[Schmiederer] What can this secret government do in Kosovo?

[Bukoshi] We have started to replace Serbian structures with our own. This works relatively well at the government and the local level. We must simply try everything so that Serbian coercive measures in Kosovo are not successful. If Serbia closes our schools, we must solve this problem. Therefore, we now teach our children in apartments and private houses.

[Schmiederer] A few days ago, Serbian members of the militia shot at least two Albanians in front of such a private school. How did this happen?

[Bukoshi] In Kosovo, people are dying almost unnoticed by the international public. There are dead week after week. In this sense, this latest case is not so spectacular, but just an everyday occurrence: Children who wanted to enter one of these privately organized schools were stopped by the police and dragged into a car. Of course, the children yelled, people from the neighborhood gathered, and the police started shooting.

[Schmiederer] If you look back to one year ago, what has changed in Kosovo since then?

[Bukoshi] A year ago, the people at least had the hope that there would be a political solution to the problem. In the meantime, Serbia has managed to exclude the issue of Kosovo from all talks about Yugoslavia's future. Therefore, there is mainly disappointment now. Rage is spreading among the younger people.

[Schmiederer] A bit more than a year ago, you yourself worked in Pristina hospital as a urologist. Then you, like hundreds of your colleagues, were fired. Thus, the Serbian authorities are relatively successful with their consistency.

[Bukoshi] So far, more than 1,600 doctors, nurses, and male nurses have been fired. There are hospitals where there is not a single Albanian doctor left. In total, about 100,000 Albanians—mostly fathers of families—were fired; about 800,000 people have thus lost any claim to medical treatment and social benefits. Serbia has completely destroyed the health

sector. On the other hand, the Serbs are slowly getting fed up with the hegemonic policy of their government.

[Schmiederer] Your only remaining hope is that the Serbs will force their politicians to be reasonable?

[Bukoshi] Yes, one might say so. In Belgrade they must understand that the powder keg in the Balkans will really explode if a military conflict is unleashed in Kosovo. Then, Albania would naturally intervene in the conflict on our side, and other allies would join Albania. Serbia would also look around for allies.

[Schmiederer] Last year, the independent Republic of Kosovo was proclaimed. So far, the only country that has recognized it is Albania. In Brussels, a request for recognition was made to the EC at the end of last year. So far, however, there have not been any signs that any state will recognize the independent Republic of Kosovo.

[Bukoshi] Most states know very well that the Kosovo problem is a real problem. However, they have not yet understood that the recognition of Kosovo would be a factor of stabilization rather than one of disturbance within a crumbling Yugoslavia. First of all, Europe must make it clear to the Serbs that Serbia cannot automatically be Yugoslavia's successor state. Then, Belgrade will slowly begin to understand that certain conditions have to be met before they may belong to a modern Europe. On this basis, everyone must then understand that it is only just if the third-largest people—in terms of numbers—in Yugoslavia finally gets what is due to it.

[Schmiederer] There are also a lot of Albanians in Macedonia. Will your republic make territorial claims on Macedonia?

[Bukoshi] We will not make any territorial claims whatsoever, because we do not think that ethnically pure states should be formed at any cost. Thus, we do not see Kosovo as a state of Albanians, but as a state of all those citizens who want to live here. In addition to us Albanians, this naturally includes Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats, Romas, and Muslims—simply all citizens.

[Schmiederer] Do you think that by the year 2000 there will be a united Albania?

[Bukoshi] No, this will take longer. Of course, we Albanians are a divided nation. Therefore, it is only normal that we want to be together with those Albanians who still live on the other side of the border. Since we are realists, however, we are ready to make major concessions: In order to safeguard peace in this region, we content ourselves with a sovereign Republic of Kosovo for the time being.

[Schmiederer] Apart from the secretary of state in the Vatican, you are the only prime minister in Europe who has not been legitimated by democratic elections.

[Bukoshi] Correct. In July 1990, Serbia forcibly dissolved the parliament and the government of Kosovo. Since then, no political, economic, or social institution has functioned. In autumn 1990, a referendum was held at which the citizens of Kosovo clearly decided in favor of independence. In this situation it was only possible to form a joint coordinating committee from the 11 parties that are working in Kosovo. And this committee supports our government. As long as the police and Army do not permit us to move about freely in our own country, we cannot hold elections.

Serbian Renaissance Leader Interviewed

LD0402165492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1042 GMT 4 Feb 92

[Text] Bonn, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—There is a saying that on the path to reason you must go through insanity, and we, both Serbs and Croats, are tired of insanity, Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, stated in an interview published in the latest issue of Hamburg's DER SPIEGEL.

Draskovic did not rule out the possibility of a fresh escalation of the war, but said he "believed that reason would prevail". He indirectly criticized demands put forward by Milan Babic, saying that there will be enough time for the modification of the peace plan even when the Blue Helmets arrive.

Draskovic sharply criticized the Serbian church, saying that "one part of it is trying for the third time in this century to push the Serbian people into collective death in the name of the Kosovo myth". He added that "the patriarch is again calling for a total war in which 2 to 3 million people would die within a couple of months".

According to Draskovic the resolution of the crisis rests with the recognition of all six republics, after which four republics (Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia) would first set up an association similar to the EC and then the remaining two (Slovenia and Croatia) would join "that loose alliance".

Draskovic holds that Serbian Krajina should be united with Bosnian Krajina, while Croatia should get "just as much territory in Western Hercegovina". He criticized German policy towards Yugoslavia, because "for historical reasons Germany should not have dared to be an initiating force for the secession of Croatia". The German Government should now urge the settlement of national rights of Serbs in Croatia "with as much enthusiasm as it displayed when the disintegration of Yugoslavia was initiated".

Asked what he expected from Germany, Draskovic replied: "To help bring about the end of Tudjman's era, so that a more moderate politician comes to power in Croatia." Asked who would topple Milosevic he replied: "Democratic Serbia." In conclusion he expressed the hope that Serbia would "become a parliamentary monarchy by the end of this year".